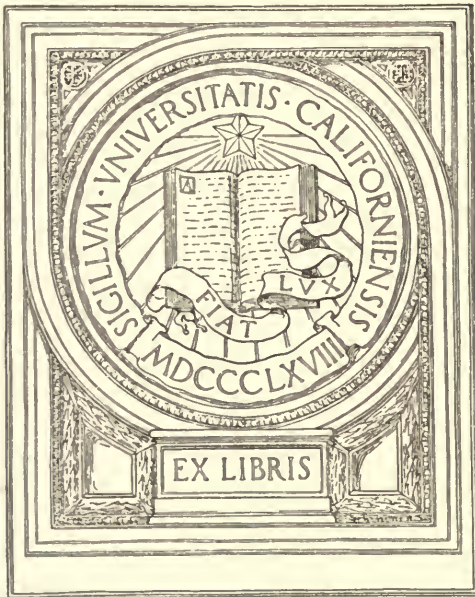




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Filson Club Publications

NUMBER NINETEEN

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

INCLUDING THE

Previous Engagements between the Americans and the British, the
Indians, and the Spanish which led to the Final Conflict
on the 8th of January, 1815

BY

ZACHARY F. SMITH

Member of The Filson Club

Prominent Kentuckian Celebrates His Eightieth Birthday Today

The eightieth birthday of Z. F. Smith, prominent among the historians of Kentucky, will be celebrated by his many friends today. Mr. Smith was born January 7, 1827, at the old homestead, Dupuy farm, in Henry county, Kentucky, three miles southeast of New Castle. Here his maternal grandparents, Joseph and Ann Peay Dupuy, settled with their slaves and made a clearing in the virgin forests.

Joseph Dupuy was a direct descendant from Bartholomew Dupuy, a Huguenot refugee, once Captain in the King's guard of Louis XIV., who escaped with her persecuted Protestants to America, and settled at Manakintown, on the James river, early in the Eighteenth century. From this ancestral stock descended the Dupuys, Trabues, Caldwells, Pittmans, Hardins, Owens and many other leading Kentucky families. Ann Peay, the wife of Joseph Dupuy, is a sister of Austin Peay, one of the earlier settlers of Louisville.

Mildred, daughter of Joseph and Ann Dupuy, married Zachary Smith, son of Captain Jesse Smith, who married Anna Pendleton, of the Virginals, and settled over a century ago on a farm near Danville, Ky. Z. F. Smith, the subject of this sketch, was the only child. He was educated in the country and town schools near his home, and completed his studies at Union College, Harrodsburg, Ky. After completing his education he returned to his home and engaged in farming

and stock raising until he was thirty years of age. Just before the Civil war he disposed of his farm, and became President of Henry College, at New Castle, which position he occupied until 1866.

At the first election after the close of the war, he was nominated for Superintendent of Public Instruction on the Democratic ticket, John L. Helm being the nominee for Governor. The whole ticket was overwhelmingly successful, and Mr. Smith took up his new duties with ardor. Among the reforms he introduced was the raising of the school tax from five to twenty cents on the dollar, and with this increased revenue, secured after a strenuous fight, and endorsed by popular vote, he was able to lay the foundations of the present magnificent school system.

His next great public work was the projection of the Cumberland and Ohio railroad, from Cincinnati to Nashville. For four successive years he served as President of the road. In 1871, at the close of his four years' term as Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Republican party refrained from nominating a candidate for that office, and tendered the solid vote of the party to Mr. Smith, an unprecedented testimonial to a public official's faithful service. Mr. Smith, however, declined owing to the pressure of his railroad duties.

Mr. Smith located in Louisville in 1884, and began his work as an historian. Among his invaluable achievements in this department of literary effort must be mentioned: "The History of Kentucky," published in 1886; "The School History of Kentucky," published in 1889 and indorsed by the State Board of Education; "The Mother of Henry Clay," written for the Filson Club, and "The Battle of New Orleans," a most absorbing account of the Southwest campaign of Gen. Jackson, and the nine battles in the vicinity of New Orleans, ending with the disastrous encounter of January 8, 1815, which is reproduced in the columns of The Herald today on page 6, section 4.

Mr. Smith is a member of the Christian Church, and has been an elder in that body since he was twenty-five. In 1852 he married Miss Sue Helm, daughter of William S. Helm, of Shelby county. In 1879 his wife died, and eleven years later he married Miss Anna A. Pittman, of Louisville. He had six sons and two daughters by his first wife.



A. F. SMITH

Minister of the Gospel.

THE
Battle of New Orleans

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British, the Indians, and the Spanish which
led to the Final Conflict on the
8th of January, 1815

BY

ZACHARY F. SMITH

Member of The Filson Club and Author of a History of Kentucky
and School Editions of the same



Illustrated



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PREFACE

IN the preparation of the following account of the "Battle of New Orleans," I have availed myself of all accessible authorities, and have been placed under obligations to Colonel R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky. I have had free access to his library, which is the largest private collection in this country, and embraces works upon almost every subject. Besides general histories of the United States and of the individual States, and periodicals, newspapers, and manuscripts, which contain valuable information on the battle of New Orleans, his library contains numerous works more specifically devoted to this subject. Among these, to which I have had access, may be mentioned *Notices of the War of 1812*, by John M. Armstrong, two volumes, New York, 1840; *The Naval History of Great Britain from 1783 to 1830*, by Edward P. Brenton, two volumes, London, 1834; *History of the Late War*, by H. M. Brackenridge, Philadelphia, 1839; *An Authentic History of the Second War for Independence*, by Samuel R. Brown, two volumes, Auburn, 1815; *History of the Late War* by an American

(Joseph Cushing), Baltimore, 1816; Correspondence between General Jackson and General Adair as to the Kentuckians charged by Jackson with inglorious flight, New Orleans, 1815; An Authentic History of the Late War, by Paris M. Davis, New York, 1836; A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army by an Officer (George R. Gleig), Philadelphia, 1821; History of Louisiana, American Dominion, by Charles Gayarre, New York, 1866; The Second War with England, illustrated, by J. T. Headley, two volumes, New York, 1853; History of the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain, by Rossiter Johnson, New York, 1882; The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812, by Benjamin J. Lossing, New York, 1868; The War of 1812 in the Western Country, by Robert B. McAfee, Lexington, Kentucky, 1816; Historical Memoirs of the War of 1814-1815, by Major A. Lacarriere Latour, Philadelphia, 1816; Messages of James Madison, President of the United States, parts one and two, Albany, 1814; The Military Heroes of the War of 1812, by Charles J. Peterson, Philadelphia, 1858; The Naval War of 1812, by Theodore Roosevelt, New York, 1889; The History of the War of 1812-15, by J. Russell, junior, Hartford, 1815; The Glory of America, etc., by R. Thomas, New York, 1834; Historic Sketches of the Late War, by John L. Thomson, Philadelphia, 1816; The Life of Andrew Jackson, by Alexander Walker, Phila-

delphia, 1867; A Full and a Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States, by James Williams, two volumes, London, 1818.

I have also been placed under obligations to Mr. William Beer, librarian of the Howard Library of New Orleans, which has become a depository of rare works touching the history of the South Mississippi Valley, and especially relating to the War of 1812 and the battle of New Orleans. A list of all the works in this library which Mr. Beer placed at my disposal would be too long for insertion here, but the following may be mentioned: Claiborne's Notes on the War in the South, Goodwin's Biography of Andrew Jackson, Reid and Easten's Life of General Jackson, Nolte's Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, Report of Committee on Jackson's Warrant for Closing the Halls of the Legislature of Louisiana, The Madison Papers, Ingersoll's Historic Sketch of the Second War between Great Britain and the United States, Cooke's Seven Campaigns in the Peninsula, Hill's Recollections of an Artillery Officer, Coke's History of the Rifle Brigade, Diary of Private Timewell, and Cooke's Narrative of Events. No one would do justice to himself or his subject if he should write a history of the battle of New Orleans without availing himself of the treasures of the Howard Library.

Z. F. SMITH.

INTRODUCTION

ENGLAND was apparently more liberal than Spain or France when, in the treaty of 1783, she agreed to the Mississippi River as the western boundary of the United States. Spain was for limiting the territory of the new republic on the west to the crest of the Alleghany Mountains, so as to secure to her the opportunity of conquering from England the territory between the mountains and the Great River. Strangely enough and inconsistently enough, France supported Spain in this outrageous effort to curtail the territory of the new republic after she had helped the United States to conquer it from England, or rather after General Clark had wrested it from England for the colony of Virginia, and while Virginia was still in possession of it. The seeming liberality of England, however, may not have been more disinterested than the scheming of Spain and France in this affair. England did not believe that the United States could exist as a permanent government, but that the confederated States would disintegrate and return to her as colonies. The King

of England said as much when the treaty was made. If, then, the States were to return to England as colonies, the more territory they might bring with them the better, and hence a large grant was acknowledged in the treaty of peace. The acts of England toward the United States after acknowledging their independence indicate that the fixing of the western boundary on the Mississippi had as much selfishness as liberality, if indeed it was not entirely selfish.

The ink was scarcely dry upon the parchment which bore evidence of the ratified treaty of 1783 when the mother country began acts of hostility and meanness against her children who had separated from her and begun a political life for themselves. When the English ships of war, which had blockaded New York for seven long years, sailed out of the harbor and took their course toward the British Isles, instead of hauling down their colors from the flagstaff of Fort George, they left them flying over the fortification, and tried to prevent them from being removed by chopping down all the cleats for ascent, and greasing the pole so that no one could climb to the top and pull down the British flag or replace it by the colors of the United States. An agile sailor boy, named Van Arsdale, who had probably ascended many trees in search of bird's nests, and clambered up the masts

of ships until he had become an expert climber, nailed new cleats to the flagstaff and climbed to its summit, bearing with him the flag of the new republic. When he reached the top he cut down the British flag and suspended that of the United States. This greasy trick may have been the act of some wag of the retiring fleet, and might have been taken for a joke had it not been followed by hostile acts which indicated that this was the initial step in a long course of hostility and meanness.

But it was soon followed by the retention of the lake forts which fell into British hands during the Revolutionary War, and which, by the terms of the treaty, were to be surrendered. Instead of surrendering them according to the stipulations of the treaty, they held them, and not only occupied them for thirteen years, but used them as storehouses and magazines from which the Indians were fed and clothed and armed and encouraged to tomahawk and scalp Americans without regard to age or sex. And then followed a series of orders in council, by which the commerce of the United States was almost swept from the seas, and their sailors forcibly taken from American ships to serve on British. These orders in council were so frequent that it seemed as if the French on one side of the British Channel and the English on the other were hurling decrees and orders at one another for their own

amusement while inflicting dire injuries on other nations, and especially the Americans.

Had it not been for these hostile acts of the British there would have been no War of 1812. Had they continued to treat the young republic with the justice and liberality to which they agreed in fixing its western boundary in the treaty of 1783, no matter what their motive may have been, there would have been no cause for war between the two countries. The Americans had hardly recovered from the wounds inflicted in the Revolutionary War. They were too few and too weak and too poor to go to war with such a power as England, and moreover wanted a continuance of the peace by which they were adding to the population and wealth of their country. What they had acquired in the quarter of a century since the end of the Revolutionary War was but little in comparison with the accumulations of England during long centuries, and they were not anxious to risk their all in a conflict with such a power; but young and weak and few as they were, they belonged to that order of human beings who hold their rights and their honor in such high regard that they can not continuously be insulted and injured without retaliation. The time came when they resolved to bear the burdens of war rather than submit to injustice and dishonor.

In the French and Indian war which preceded the Revolution there was fighting for some time before a formal declaration of war. The English drove the French traders from the Ohio Valley, and the French forced out the English while the two nations were at peace. The French chassed from one of their forts to another with fiddles instead of drums, and the English with fowling-pieces instead of muskets rambled over the forest, but they sometimes met and introduced each other to acts of war while a state of hostility was acknowledged by neither. Something like a similar state of things preceded the War of 1812. Tecumseh was at work trying to unite all the tribes of Indians in one grand confederacy, ostensibly to prevent them from selling their lands to the Americans, but possibly for the purpose of war. While he was at this work his brother, the Prophet, had convinced the Indians that he had induced the Great Spirit to make them bullet-proof, and the English so encouraged them with food and clothing and arms that they believed they were able to conquer the Americans, and began to carry on hostilities against them without any formal declaration of war by either party. The battle of Tippecanoe, which came of this superstition among the Indians and this encouragement from England, may be considered the first clash of arms in the War of 1812.

The English took no open or active part in this battle, but their arms and ammunition and rations were in it, and after it was lost the Indians went to the English and became their open allies when the War of 1812 really began. Whether the English were allies of the Indians or the Indians allies of the English, they fought and bled and died and were conquered together after the initial conflict at Tippecanoe, in 1811, to the final battle at New Orleans in 1815, which crowned the American arms with a glory never to fade.

The Filson Club, whose broad field of work in history, literature, science, and art is hardly indicated by the name of the first historian of Kentucky, which it bears, has deemed three of the battles which were fought during the War of 1812 as the most important of the many that were waged. These three were, first, the battle of Tippecanoe, regarded as the opening scene of the bloody drama; second, the battle of the Thames, by which the power of the British was crushed in the west and northwest, and third, the battle of New Orleans, which ended the war in a glorious victory for the Americans. The Club determined to have the history of these three battles written and filed among its archives, and to have the matter published for the benefit of the public. Hence, the task was undertaken by three different members of the Club.

The first of these, "The Battle of Tippecanoe," was prepared for the Club by Captain Alfred Pirtle, and published in 1900 as Filson Club Publication Number 15. It is an illustrated quarto of one hundred and sixty-seven pages, which gives a detailed account of the battle of Tippecanoe and the acts of the Indians and British which led to it and the important consequences which followed. The names of the officers and soldiers, and especially those of Kentucky who were engaged in it, are given so far as could be ascertained, and the book is a historic record of this battle, full enough and faithful enough to furnish the reader with all of the important facts.

The second, "The Battle of the Thames," the 5th of October, 1813, was undertaken by Colonel Bennett H. Young, and appeared in 1903 as the eighteenth publication of the Filson Club. It is an elaborately illustrated quarto of two hundred and eighty-six pages, and presents a detailed account of the acts which led up to the main battle and the engagements by land and water which preceded it. It contains a list of all the Kentuckians who as officers and privates were in the battle. The reader who seeks information about this battle need look no further than its pages.

The third and last of these important battles occurred at New Orleans the 8th of January, 1815. Its history

was prepared for the Club by Mr. Z. F. Smith, and now appears as Filson Club Publication Number Nineteen, for the year 1904. It is an illustrated quarto in the adopted style of the Club, which has been so much admired for its antique paper and beautiful typography. It sets forth with fullness and detail the hostilities which preceded and led to the main battle, and gives such a clear description of the final conflict by the assistance of charts as to enable the reader to understand the maneuvers of both sides and to virtually see the battle as it progressed from the beginning to the end. This battle ended the War of 1812, and when the odds against the Americans are considered, it must be pronounced one of the greatest victories ever won upon the battle-field. The author, Mr. Z. F. Smith, was an old-line Whig, and was taught to hate Jackson as Henry Clay, the leader of the Whigs, hated him, but he has done the old hero full justice in this narrative, and has assigned him full honors of one of the greatest victories ever won. Although his sympathies were with General Adair, a brother Kentuckian, he takes up the quarrel between him and General Jackson and does Jackson full and impartial justice. If Jackson had been as unprejudiced against Adair as the author against Jackson, there would have been nothing like a stain left upon the escutcheon of the Ken-

tuckians who abandoned the fight on the west bank of the Mississippi because it was their duty to get out of it rather than be slaughtered like dumb brutes who neither see impending danger nor reason about the mistakes of superiors and the consequences. He who reads the account of the battle of New Orleans which follows this introduction will know more about that battle than he knew before, or could have learned from any other source in so small a compass.

R. T. DURRETT,

President of The Filson Club.

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THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

GULF COAST CAMPAIGN, PRECEDING THE FINAL
STRUGGLE.

ON the 26th of November, 1814, a fleet of sixty great ships weighed anchor, unfurled their sails, and put to sea, as the smoke lifted and floated away from a signal gun aboard the *Tonnant*, the flagship of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, from Negril Bay, on the coast of Jamaica. Nearly one half of these vessels were formidable warships, the best of the English navy, well divided between line-of-battle ships of sixty-four, seventy-four, and eighty guns, frigates of forty to fifty guns, and sloops and brigs of twenty to thirty guns each. In all, one thousand pieces of artillery mounted upon the decks of these frowned grimly through as many port-holes, bidding defiance to the navies of the world and safely convoying over thirty transports and provisioning ships, bearing every equipment for siege or battle by sea and for a formidable invasion of an enemy's country by land. Admiral Cochrane, in chief command, and Admiral Malcombe, second in command, were veteran officers whose services and fame are a part of English history.

On board of this fleet was an army and its retinue, computed by good authorities to number fourteen thousand men, made up mainly of the veteran troops of the British military forces recently operating in Spain and France, trained in the campaigns and battles against Napoleon through years of war, and victors in the end in these contests. Major Latour, Chief Engineer of General Jackson's army, in his "Memoirs of the War in Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15," has carefully compiled from British official sources a detailed statement of the regiments, corps, and companies which constituted the army of invasion under Pakenham, at New Orleans, as follows:

Fourth Regiment—

King's Own, Lieutenant-colonel Brooks..... 750

Seventh Regiment—

Royal Fusileers, Lieutenant-colonel Blakency..... 850

Fourteenth Regiment—

Duchess of York's Own, Lieutenant-colonel Baker... 350

Twenty-first Regiment—

Royal Fusileers, Lieutenant-colonel Patterson..... 900

Fortieth Regiment—

Somersetshire, Lieutenant-colonel H. Thornton..... 1,000

Forty-third Regiment—

Monmouth Light Infantry, Lieutenant-colonel Patrickson 850

Forty-fourth Regiment—

East Essex, Lieutenant-colonel Mullen..... 750

Eighty-fifth Regiment—	
Buck Volunteers, Lieutenant-colonel Wm. Thornton.	650
Ninety-third Regiment—	
Highlanders, Lieutenant-colonel Dale.....	1,100
Ninety-fifth Regiment—	
Rifle Corps, Major Mitchell.....	500
First Regiment—	
West India (colored), Lieutenant-colonel Whitby...	700
Fifth Regiment—	
West India (colored), Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton...	700
A detachment from the Sixty-second Regiment.....	350
Rocket Brigade, Artillery, Engineers, Sappers and	
Miners	1,500
Royal Marines and sailors from the fleet.....	3,500
Total	14,450

Including artillerists, marines, and others, seamen of the ships' crews afloat, there were not fewer than eighteen thousand men, veterans in the service of their country in the lines of their respective callings, to complete the equipment of this powerful armada.

At the head of this formidable army of invasion were Lord Edward Pakenham, commander-in-chief; Major-general Samuel Gibbs, commanding the first, Major-general John Lambert, the second, and Major-general John Keene, the third divisions, supported by subordinate officers, than whom none living were braver or more skilled in

the science and practice of war. Nearly all had learned their lessons under the great Wellington, the conqueror of Napoleon. Since 1588, when the combined naval and military forces of England were summoned to repel the attempted invasion and conquest of that country by the Spanish Armada, the British Government had not often fitted out and sent against an enemy a combined armament so powerful and so costly as that which rendezvoused in the tropical waters of Negril Bay in the latter autumn days of 1814. Even the fleet of Nelson at the Battle of the Nile, sixteen years before, where he won victory and immortal honors by the destruction of the formidable French fleet, was far inferior in number of vessels, in ordnance, and in men to that of Admiral Cochrane on this expedition. The combined equipment cost England forty millions of dollars.

In October and November of this year, the marshaling of belligerent forces by sea and land from the shores of Europe and America, with orders to rendezvous at a favorable maneuvering point in the West Indies, caused much conjecture as to the object in view. That the War Department of the English Government meditated a winter campaign somewhere upon the southern coasts of the United States was a common belief; that an invasion of Louisiana and the capture and occupation of New

Orleans was meant, many surmised. For reasons of State policy, the object of the expedition in view was held a secret until the day of setting sail. Now it was disclosed by those in command that New Orleans was the objective point, and officers and men were animated with the hope that, in a few weeks more, they would be quartered for the winter in the subjugated capital of Louisiana, with a dream that the coveted territory might be occupied and permanently held as a possession of the British Empire.

The Government at Washington was advised that, during the summer and early autumn months of 1814, our implacable enemy was engaged in preparations for a renewal of hostilities on a scale of magnitude and activity beyond anything attempted since the war began; but it seemed not fully to interpret the designs and plans of the British leaders. Especially unfortunate, and finally disastrous to the American arms, was the inaptness and inertness of the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, in failing to adopt, promptly and adequately, measures to meet the emergency. For almost a year after the destruction of the English fleet on Lake Erie by Commodore Perry, and of the English army at the battle of the Thames by General Harrison, a period of comparative repose ensued between the belligerents.

The British Government was too much absorbed in delivering the *coup-de-main* to the great Napoleon to give attention to America. But her opportunity came. The allied powers defeated and decimated the armies of the French Emperor, and forced him to capitulate in his own capital. On the 3d of March, 1814, they entered Paris. On the eleventh of May Napoleon abdicated, and was sent an exile to Elba.

England was at peace with all Europe. Her conquering armies and fleets would be idle for an indefinite period; yet, it would be premature to disband the former or to dismantle the latter. Naturally, attention turned to the favorable policy of employing these vast and ready resources for the chastisement and humiliation of her American enemies, as a fit closing of the war and punishment for their rebellious defiance. Under orders, the troops in France and Spain were marched to Bordeaux and placed in a camp of concentration, from which they were debarked in fleets down the river Garonne, and across the Atlantic to their destinations in America. An English officer with these troops expressed the sentiment of the soldiers and seamen, and of the average citizen of England at this time, in this language: "It was the general opinion that a large proportion of the Peninsular army would be transported to the other side

of the Atlantic, that the war would there be carried on with vigor, and that no terms of accommodation would be listened to, except such as a British general should dictate in the Republican Senate."

Overtures for the negotiation of a treaty of peace had been interchanged between the two nations at war as early as January. By April the American Commissioners were in Europe, though the arrival of the English Commissioners at Ghent for final deliberations was delayed until August. Meanwhile, several thousands of these Peninsular troops were transported to reinforce the army in Canada. On the sixteenth of August a small fleet of British vessels in Chesapeake Bay was reinforced by thirty sail under the command of Admirals Cochrane and Malcombe, one half of which were ships of war. A large part of this flotilla moved up the Potomac and disembarked about six thousand men, under command of General Ross. The battle of Bladensburg was fought on the twenty-fourth, followed immediately by the capture of Washington and the burning of the Government buildings there. A few days after, the combined naval and military British forces were defeated in an attack on Baltimore, General Ross, commander-in-chief, being among the slain. About the same date, Commodore McDonough won a great and crushing victory

over the English fleet on Lake Champlain, while the British army of fourteen thousand men, under Sir George Prevost, was signally defeated by the Americans, less than seven thousand in number, at Plattsburg, on the border of New York.

Such was the military situation in the first month of autumn, 1814. Seemingly, the British plenipotentiaries had a motive in reserve for delaying the negotiations for peace. England yet looked upon the United States as her wayward prodigal, and conjured many grievances against the young nation that had rebuked her cruel insolence and pride in two wars. She nursed a spirit of imperious and bitter revenge. A London organ, recently before, had said: "In diplomatic circles it is rumored that our military and naval commanders in America have no power to conclude any armistice or suspension of arms. Terms will be offered to the American Government at the point of the bayonet. America will be left in a much worse situation as a commercial and naval power than she was at the commencement of the war."

The reverses to the British arms on Lake Champlain, at Plattsburg, and at Baltimore, virtually ended hostilities in the Northern States for the remaining period of the war. Winter approaching, all belligerent forces



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that could be marshaled would be transferred to the waters of the Gulf for operations on the coast there. The malice and wanton barbarity of the English in burning the national buildings and property at Washington, in the destruction and loot of houses, private and public, on the shores of the Chesapeake and Atlantic, and in repeated military outrages unjustified by the laws of civilized warfare, had fully aroused the Government and the citizenship to the adoption of adequate measures of defense for the Northern and Eastern States. It was too late, however, to altogether repair the injuries done to the army of the Southwest by the tardiness and default of the head of the War Department, which, as General Jackson said in an official report, threatened defeat and disaster to his command at New Orleans. Indignant public sentiment laid the blame of the capture of Washington, and of the humiliating disasters there, to the same negligence and default of this official, which led to his resignation soon after.

GENERAL JACKSON ASSUMES COMMAND OF THE SEVENTH
MILITARY DISTRICT OF THE SOUTHWEST.

General Andrew Jackson had, in July, 1814, been appointed a major-general in the United States army, and assigned the command of the Southern department,

with headquarters at Mobile. His daring and successful campaigns against the Indian allies of the British the year previous had won for him the confidence of the Government and of the people, and distinguished him as the man fitted for the emergency. At the beginning of the war British emissaries busily sought to enlist, arm, and equip all the Indians of the Southern tribes whom they could disaffect, as their allies, and to incite them to a war of massacre, pillage, and destruction against the white settlers, as they did with the savage tribes north of the Ohio River. In this they were successfully aided by Tecumseh, the Shawanee chief, and his brother, the Prophet. These were sons of a Creek mother and a Shawanee brave. By relationship, and by the rude eloquence of the former and the mystic arts and incantations of the latter, they brought into confederacy with Northern tribes—which they had organized as allies of the English in a last hope of destroying American power in the West—almost the entire Creek nation. These savages, though at peace under treaty and largely supported by the fostering aid of our Government, began hostilities after their usual methods of indiscriminate massacre and marauding destruction, regardless of age or sex or condition, against the exposed settlers. The latter sought refuge as they could in the rude stockade

stations, but feebly garrisoned. At Fort Mims, on the Alabama River, nearly three hundred old men and women and children, with a small garrison of soldiers, were captured in a surprise attack by a large body of warriors, and all massacred in cold blood. This atrocious outbreak aroused the country, and led to speedy action for defense and terrible chastisement for the guilty perpetrators. The British officers offered rewards for scalps brought in, as under Proctor in the Northwest, and many scalps of men and women murdered were exchanged for this horrible blood-money.

In October, 1813, General Jackson led twenty-five hundred Tennessee militia, who had been speedily called out, into the Creek country in Alabama. A corps of one thousand men from Georgia, and another of several hundred from the territory of Mississippi, invaded the same from different directions. Sanguinary battles with the savages were fought by Jackson's command at Tallasehatche, Talladega, Hillabee, Autosse, Emuckfau, Tohopeka, and other places, with signal success to the American arms in every instance. The villages and towns of the enemy were burned, their fields and gardens laid waste, and the survivors driven to the woods and swamps. Not less than five thousand of the great Ocmulgee nation perished in this war, either in battle or from the ruinous

results of their treachery after. Nearly one thousand of the border settlers were sacrificed, one half of whom were women and children or other non-combatants, the victims of the malignant designs and arts of British emissaries. The chief of the Creeks sued for peace, and terms were negotiated by General Jackson on the 14th of August, 1814.

From his headquarters at Mobile, in September, 1814, General Jackson, with sleepless vigilance, was anticipating and watching the movements of the British upon the Gulf coast, and marshaling his forces to resist any attack. There had been reported to him the arrival of a squadron of nine English ships in the harbor of Pensacola. Spain was at peace with our country, and it was due that the Spanish commandant of Florida, yet a province of Spain, should observe a strict neutrality pending hostilities. Instead of this comity of good faith and friendship, the Spanish officials had permitted this territory to become a refuge for the hostile Indians. Here they could safely treat with the British agents, from whom they received the implements of war, supplies of food and clothing, and the pay and emoluments incident to their services as allies in war. In violation of the obligations of neutrality, the Spanish officials not only tolerated this trespass on the territory of Florida, but, truckling to the

formidable power and prestige of the great English nation, they dared openly to insult our own Government by giving aid and encouragement to our enemy in their very capital.

The most important and accessible point in Spanish Florida was Pensacola. Here the Governor, Gonzalez Maurequez, held court and dispensed authority over the province. The pride of the Spaniards in the old country and in Florida and Louisiana was deeply wounded over the summary sale of the territory of Louisiana by Napoleon to the United States in 1803; recalling the compulsory cession of the same to France by Spain in 1800. Naturally they resented with spirit what they deemed an indignity to the honor and sovereignty of their nation. The Spanish minister at Washington entered a solemn protest against the transaction; questions of boundaries soon after became a continuing cause of irritating dispute. The Dons contended that all east of the Mississippi River was Florida territory and subject to their jurisdiction. A military demonstration by General Wilkinson, then in command of the army of the Southwest, was ordered from Washington, opposition awed into silence, and the transfer made. In brief time after the boundaries of Florida were fixed on the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and east of a line near to the

present boundary between Louisiana and Mississippi. Previously Mobile was the seat of government for Florida, but American aggression made the removal of the Government to Pensacola compulsory, and gave an additional cause of grievance to our sensitive neighbors. Under British auspices and promises of protection, the Governor displayed his resentment.

To confirm the report that came to him at Mobile of the arrival of an English squadron in Pensacola Bay, and of treacherous aid and comfort being given by the Spanish Governor, Jackson sent as spies some friendly Indians to the scene of operations, with instructions to furtively observe all that could be seen and known, and report to him the information. It was confirmed that the ships were in the harbor, and that a camp of English soldiers was in the town; that a considerable body of Indian recruits had been armed and were being drilled, and that runners had been dispatched to the country to invite and bring others to the coast to join them as comrades in arms. A few days after, a friendly courier brought news that several hundred marines had landed from the ships, that Colonel Nichols in command and his staff were guests of Governor Maurequez, and that the British flag was floating with the flag of Spain over one of the Spanish forts.

An order issued about this time by Colonel Nichols to his troops, followed by a proclamation to the people of Louisiana and Kentucky, revealed in visible outlines something of the purposes and plans of the menacing armaments. He advised his command that the troops would probably soon be called upon to endure long and tedious marches through forests and swamps in an enemy's country, and exhorted them to conciliate their Indian allies and "never to give them just cause of offense." He addressed the most inflammatory appeals to the national pride and prejudices of the French people of Louisiana, and to supposed discontented citizens of Kentucky, whose grievances had grown out of their neglect by the National Government or been engendered by the arts of designing politicians and adventurers.

BATTLE AT MOBILE BAY—THE BRITISH REPULSED.

General Jackson strongly suspected that Louisiana would be invaded, and that New Orleans was designed to be the main and final point of attack. Yet he was led to believe that the British would attempt the capture of Mobile first, for strategic reasons. Early in September he reinforced the garrison of Fort Bowyer, situated thirty miles south of Mobile. This fortification, mounting twenty cannon, commanded the entrance to the harbor. It was

garrisoned by one hundred and thirty men, under the command of Major William Lawrence. On the fifteenth of September the attack was made by a squadron of four ships of war, assisted by a land force of seven hundred marines and Indians. Though the enemy mounted ninety-two pieces of artillery, in the assault made they were defeated and driven off to sea again, with a loss of two hundred killed and wounded, the flagship of the commander sent to the bottom, and the remaining ships seriously damaged.

ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF PENSACOLA, THE SPANISH
CAPITAL OF FLORIDA—THE BRITISH DRIVEN
TO SEA.

Incensed at the open and continued violations of neutrality by the Spanish Governor, who had permitted Pensacola to be made a recruiting camp for the arming and drilling of their Indian allies by the British, General Jackson determined to march his army against this seat of government, and to enforce the observance of neutrality on the part of the Spanish commandant at the point of the bayonet if need be. He had removed his headquarters to Fort Montgomery, where by the first of November his command consisted of one thousand regular troops and two thousand militia, mainly from

Tennessee and Mississippi—in all, about three thousand men. With these he set out for Pensacola, and on the evening of the sixth of November encamped within two miles of the town. He sent in Major Peire, bearing a flag of truce to the Governor, with a message that Pensacola must no longer be a refuge and camp for the enemies of the United States, and that the town must be surrendered, together with the forts. The messenger was fired on and driven back from Fort St. Michael, over which the British flag had been floating jointly with the flag of Spain. The firing was done by British troops harbored within. Governor Maurequez disavowed knowledge of the outrage, but refused to surrender his authority. The next morning the intrepid Jackson entered the town and carried by storm its defenses, the British retreating to their ships and putting off to sea. Fort Barrancas was blown up by the enemy, to prevent the Americans from turning its guns upon the escaping British vessels. The Spanish commandant made profuse apologies, and pledged that he would in future observe a strict neutrality.

Jackson, fearing another attempt to capture Mobile by the retiring fleet, withdrew from Pensacola and marched for the former place, arriving there on the eleventh of November. At Mobile, messengers from those

in highest authority at New Orleans met him, urging that he hasten there with his army and at once begin measures for the defense of that city. Information had been received by W. C. Claiborne, then Governor of Louisiana, from a highly credited source—most unexpected, but most fortunate and welcome—that the vast British armament of ships and men rendezvousing in the West Indies was about ready to sail, and that New Orleans was assuredly the objective point of the expedition.

LAFITTE, THE PIRATE OF THE GULF, AND HIS SEA-ROVERS,
LOYAL TO THE AMERICAN CAUSE.

The informant was the celebrated Captain Jean Lafitte, the leader of the reputed pirates of the Gulf, who had been outlawed by an edict of our Government. The circumstances were so romantic, and displayed such a patriotic love for and loyalty to our country, that they are worthy of brief mention. As Byron wrote, he

Left a corsair's name to other times,
Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes.

But this does injustice to these *marauders of the sea*, who put in a plea of extenuation. The disparity of their virtues and their crimes is overwrought in the use of poetic license. Before the period of the conquest of

Guadeloupe by the English, the French Government in force on that island had granted permits to numerous privateersmen to prey upon the commerce of the enemy, as our own Government had done in two wars. Now they could no longer enter the ports of that or of any other of the West India islands, with their prizes and cargoes. Lafitte and his daring sea-rovers made of the Bay of Baratavia, on the Gulf coast sixty miles south of New Orleans, a place of rendezvous and headquarters for their naval and commercial adventures. From this point they had ready and almost unobserved communication by navigable bayous with New Orleans and the marts beyond. They formed a sequestered colony on the shores of Baratavia, and among the bold followers of Lafitte there were nearly one hundred men skilled in navigation, expert in the use of artillery, and familiar with every bay and inlet within one hundred miles of the Crescent City. Their services, if attainable, might be made invaluable in the invasion and investment of New Orleans contemplated by the British, who through their spies kept well informed of the conditions of the environment of the city. The time seemed opportune to win them over. If not pirates under our laws, they were smugglers who found it necessary to market the rich cargoes they captured and brought in as privateers-

men. Barred out by other nations, New Orleans was almost the lone market for their wares and for their distribution inland. Many merchants and traders favored this traffic, and had grown rich in doing so, despite the severity of our revenue laws against smuggling and the protests of other nations with whom we were friendly.

One of the Lafitte brothers and other leaders of the outlawed community were under arrest and held for trial in the Federal Court at New Orleans at this time. From Pensacola, Colonel Nichols sent Captains Lockyer, of the navy, and Williams, of the army, as emissaries to offer to the Baratarians the most enticing terms and the most liberal rewards, provided they would enlist in the service of the British in their invasion of Louisiana. Lafitte received them cautiously, but courteously. He listened to their overtures, and feigned deep interest in their mission. Having fully gained their confidence, they delivered to him sealed packages from Colonel Nichols himself, offering thirty thousand dollars in hand, high commissions in the English service for the officers, and liberal pay for the men, on condition that the Baratarians would ally themselves with the British forces. After the reading of these documents, the emissaries began to enlarge on the subject, insisting on the great advantages to result on enlisting in the service of his

Britannic Majesty, and the opportunity afforded of acquiring fame and fortune. They were imprudent enough to disclose to Lafitte the purpose and plans of the great English flotilla in the waters of the Gulf, now ready to enter upon their execution. The army of invasion, supported by the navy of England, would be invincible, and all lower Louisiana would soon be in the possession of the British. They would then penetrate the upper country, and act in concert with the forces in Canada. On plausible pretexts the emissaries were delayed for a day or two, and then returned to their ship lying at anchor outside the pass into the harbor. Lafitte lost little time in visiting New Orleans and laying before Governor Claiborne the letters of Colonel Nichols and the sensational information he had received from the British envoys.

It was this intelligence which was borne in haste to General Jackson at Mobile, by the couriers mentioned previously. The Lafittes promptly tendered the services of themselves, their officers, and their men, in a body to the American army, and pledged to do all in their power, by sea and land, to defeat and repel the invading enemy, on condition that the Government would accept their enlistment, pardon them of all offenses, and remove from over them the ban of outlawry. This was all finally

done, and no recruits of Jackson's army rendered more gallant and effective service, for their numbers, in the stirring campaign that followed. They outclassed the English gunners in artillery practice, and showed themselves to be veterans as marines or soldiers.

On receipt of this information of Lafitte, confirmed from other secret and reliable sources, the citizens were aroused. A mass-meeting was held in New Orleans and a Committee of Safety appointed, composed of Edward Livingston, Pierre Fouchet, De la Croix, Benjamin Morgan, Dominique Bouligny, J. A. Destrahan, John Blanque, and Augustine Macarte, who acted in concert with Governor Claiborne, and with the Legislature called into session.

JACKSON ARRIVES IN NEW ORLEANS.

General Jackson left Mobile on the twenty-first of November and arrived with his little army at New Orleans on the second of December, and established headquarters at 984 (now 406) Royal Street. He found the city well-nigh defenseless, while petty factions divided the councils of leaders and people, especially rife among the members of the Legislature. There was, incident to recent changes of sovereignties and conditions of nationalities, serious disaffection on the part of a most

respectable element of the population of Louisiana and Florida toward the American Government. The French and Spaniards, who mainly composed the population, intensely loved their native countries with a patriotic pride. They knew allegiance to no other, until a few years before, by the arbitrary edicts of Napoleon, all of Louisiana was sold and transferred to the United States. Other causes of irritation added to the bitterness of resentment felt by the old Spanish element. Spain tenaciously insisted on enforcing her claims of sovereignty to all territory from the east bank of the Mississippi to the Perdido River, on the east line of Alabama. But the American settlers within the same became turbulent, and in October, 1810, these bold bordermen organized a filibustering force of some strength, captured and took possession of Baton Rouge, killing Commandant Grandpre, who yet asserted there the authority of Spain. When Congress met, in December, 1810, an act was passed in secret session authorizing the President to take military possession of the disputed coast country in certain contingencies. Under orders from Washington, General Wilkinson, with a force of six hundred regulars, marched against Mobile, took possession of the Spanish fort, Charlotte, and caused the garrison to withdraw to Pensacola.

This precipitate action—the British envoy protesting against such informal occupation—was justified at home on the plea of strong grounds of suspicion that England herself might suddenly assert sovereignty over the same territory under secret treaty with Spain. Amid these rude and revolutionary proceedings, all within a decade of years, necessarily there followed a tumult of differing sentiment and contentions among the Spanish, French, and American people of the section. Fortunately the French element were of a nativity whose country had been for generations the inveterate enemy of the English, our common foe. If there were any who felt resentment before over the enforced change of allegiance from beloved France to the stranger sovereignty, when the crisis of campaign and battle came none were more gallant and brave in meeting the invading enemy.

On the ninth of December the great English flotilla appeared off Chandeleur Islands, and came to anchor near to Ship Island, the shallowness of the water not permitting the nearer approach to the main shore of vessels so large. The British authorities yet believed that the destination of this fleet was unknown to the Americans ashore; but in this they were mistaken, as they afterward admitted. The inadequacy of men and means and measures to properly meet and repel such an invad-



ing force, as mentioned before, was mainly due to the tardy negligence of the department at Washington. The sleepless vigilance and untiring energy of General Jackson was in marked contrast to this, not only within his own military jurisdiction, but in the whole region around. His trusty spies, pale and dusky, were everywhere, and little escaped his attention. The situation was now critical in the extreme. Fortunately, the unbounded confidence all had in their military chief inspired hope and infused energy among the people. He had never been defeated in battle. If any one could wrest victory now out of the inauspicious and chaotic conditions that threatened disaster, they believed it to be General Jackson.

Marvelous was the change wrought by his timely appearance on the theater of active operations. The partial attempts to adopt measures of defense were of little avail. The joint committee of the Legislature to act in concert with Governor Claiborne, Commodore Patterson, and the military commandant, had done but little as yet. There was wanting the concentration of power always needed in military operations. Latour, in his "Memoirs of the War of 1814-15," graphically describes the condition of affairs as he saw and knew them to exist:

Confidence was wanting in the civil and military authorities, and a feeling of distrust and gloomy apprehension pervaded the minds of the citizens. Petty disputes on account of two committees of defense, unfortunately countenanced by the presence and influence of several public officials, had driven the people to despondency. They complained, not without cause, that the Legislature wasted time, and consumed the money of the State, in idle discussions, when both time and money should have been devoted to measures of defense. The banks had suspended payment of their notes, and credit was gone. The moneyed men had drawn in their funds, and loaned their money at the ruinous rates of three or four per cent per month. The situation seemed desperate; in case of attack, none could hope to be saved only by miracle, or by the wisdom and genius of a great commander.

After his habit of giving his personal attention to every detail, General Jackson, on his arrival, visited Fort St. Philip, ordered the wooden barracks removed, and had mounted additional heavy artillery. He caused two more batteries to be constructed, one on the opposite bank of the Mississippi, and the other half a mile above, with twenty-four pounders in position, thus fully guarding the approach by the mouth of the river. He then proceeded to Chef Menteur, as far as Bayou Sauvage, and ordered a battery erected at that point. He continued to fortify or obstruct the larger bayous whose waters gave convenient access to the city between the Mississippi and the Gulf.

As early as July before, the Secretary of War, in view of the formidable armaments of England, had made requisition of the several States for ninety-three thousand five hundred men for general defensive purposes, under a law of Congress enacted the previous April. The quota of Kentucky was fifty-five hundred infantry; of Tennessee, twenty-five hundred infantry; of Mississippi territory, five hundred infantry, and of Louisiana, one thousand infantry. That portion of the quota of Kentucky destined for New Orleans, twenty-two hundred men, and a portion of the quota of Tennessee, embarked upon flatboats to float fifteen hundred miles down the Ohio and Mississippi waters, had not arrived on the tenth of December. Through the energetic efforts of the Governor, aided by Major Edward Livingston and the Committee of Safety, the quota of Louisiana was made up. With these, General Coffee's Tennesseans, Major Hinds' Mississippians, and one thousand regular troops, there were less than three thousand men for defensive operations yet available.

BATTLE OF THE GUNBOATS WITH THE FLEET OF BARGES.

An event was soon to happen which seemed for the time an irreparable disaster to the American cause. Commodore Daniel T. Patterson, in command of the Amer-

ican naval forces, on learning of the approach of the British fleet, sent Lieutenant Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, with five gunboats, one tender, and a dispatch boat toward the passes out to Ship Island, to watch the movements of the British vessels. This little flotilla, barely enough for scout duty at sea, was the extent of our naval forces in the Gulf waters near. The orders were to fall back, if necessary, from near Cat Island to the Rigolets; and there, if hard pressed, to sink or be sunk by the enemy. Moving in waters too shallow for the large English ships to pursue, until the thirteenth, Lieutenant Jones sailed for Bay St. Louis. Sighting a large number of the enemy's barges steering for Pass Christian, he headed for the Rigolets. But the wind having died away and an adverse current set in, the little fleet could get no farther than the channel inside of Melheureux Island, being there partially grounded. Early on the morning of the fourteenth, a flotilla of barges formed in line was discovered coming from the direction of the enemy's ships, evidently to overtake and attack the becalmed gunboats. The two tenders, lying beyond the aid of the latter, were captured after a spirited resistance. The guns of these were now turned upon Lieutenant Jones' gunboats in a combined attack of the fleet of barges, forty-five in number, and a supporting squad of

marines. The total equipment was twelve hundred men and forty-five pieces of artillery. The American defensive forces were seven small gunboats, manned by thirty guns and one hundred and eighty men. The enemy's oarsmen advanced their entire fleet in line of battle until the fire from the gunboats caused severe losses and some confusion in the movements of the barges. They then separated in three divisions and renewed the attack. The battle became general, and was contested fiercely for nearly two hours, when the gunboats, overpowered by numbers, were forced to surrender, losing six men killed and thirty-five wounded, among the latter Lieutenants Jones, Speddin, and McKeever, each in command of a boat. Several barges of the enemy were sunk, while their losses in killed and wounded were estimated at two to three hundred. Among the wounded were Captain Lockyer, in command, and other officers.

The preparations for defense on shore were now pushed forward with redoubled energy. General Jackson gave unremitting attention to the fortifying of all points which seemed available for the approach of the enemy; it was impossible to know at what point he might choose to make his first appearance on land. Captain Newman, in command of Fort Petit Coquille, at the Rigolets, next to Lake Pontchartrain, was reinforced, and the order

given to defend the post to the last extremity. If compelled to abandon it, he was instructed to fall back on Chef Menteur. Swift messengers were sent to Generals Carroll and Thomas to make all speed possible with the Tennessee and Kentucky troops on their way to New Orleans. Also, a courier was dispatched to General Winchester, commanding at Mobile, warning of the possible danger of another attack on that place, since the loss of the gunboats. Major Lacoste, with the dragoons of Feliciana and his militia battalion of colored men, was directed, with two pieces of artillery, to take post at the confluence of Bayous Sauvage and Chef Menteur, throw up a redoubt, and guard the road. Major Plauche was sent with his battalion to Bayou St. John, north of the city, Major Hughes being in command of Fort St. John. Captain Jugeant was instructed to enlist and form into companies all the Choctaw Indians he could collect, a mission that proved nearly barren of results. The Baratarians, mustered into ranks and drilled for important services under their own officers, Captains Dominique You, Beluche, Sougis, Lagand, and Golson, were divided out to the forts named, and to other places where expert gunners were most needed.

On the eighteenth of December a grand review of the Louisiana troops was held by Jackson in front of the

old Cathedral, now Jackson Square. The day was memorable by many incidents, not all in harmony with the purposes and plans of the civil and military leaders of defense. The entire population of the city and vicinity were present to witness the novel scenes, men and women vying with each other in applauding and enthusing the martial ardor of the soldiers on parade. Such an army, hastily improvised in a few brief days from city, country, and towns, made up of a composite of divergent race elements, as was that of the Louisiana contingent with the command of Jackson at New Orleans, was perhaps never paralleled in the history of warfare before. Major Plauche's battalion of uniformed companies was made up mainly of French and Spanish creoles, with some of American blood, enlisted from the city; and from the same source came Captain Beale's Rifle Company, mostly American residents. The Louisiana militia, under General Morgan, were of the best element of the country parishes, of much the same race-types as Plauche's men, of newer material, and without uniforms. Then came the battalion of Louisiana free men of color, nearly three hundred strong, led by Major Lacoste, and another battalion of men of color, two hundred and fifty in number, commanded by Major Daquin, recruited from the refugees in New Orleans from St. Domingo, who had taken

part in the bloody strifes in that island, and who bore like traditional hatred to the English, with all who spoke the French tongue. Add to the above a small detachment of Choctaw Indians; and lastly, the loyal pirates of Lafitte, who were patriotic enough to scorn the gold of England, and brave enough to offer their services and their lives, if need be, to the cause of our country; and together, these give us a picture of the men under review, whom Jackson was to lead to battle in a few days against the best-trained troops of Europe. Though of new material, and suddenly called into service, this provincial contingent of twelve hundred men, animated with the spirit of battle against an invading foe, proved themselves, when ably officered, the equals of the best troops in the field.

JACKSON DECLARES MARTIAL LAW.

On the sixteenth, two days before the review, General Jackson issued from his headquarters an order declaring "the city and environs of New Orleans under martial law." This imperious edict was resorted to in the firm belief that only the exercise of supreme military authority could awe into silence all opposition to defensive operations. Every person entering the city was required to

report himself to headquarters, and any one departing from it must procure a pass. The street lamps were extinguished at nine o'clock at night, and every one found passing after that hour was subject to arrest. All persons capable of bearing arms who did not volunteer were pressed into the military or naval service. Rumors were rife that British spies were secretly prowling in the city, and coming into the American camp. Reports of disloyal utterances and suspicious proceedings on the part of certain citizens came repeatedly to the ears of the commander-in-chief. More serious yet, he was aroused to fierce anger by personal and direct intelligence that certain leading and influential members of the Legislature favored a formal capitulation and surrender of Louisiana to the enemy, by that body, in the event of a formidable invasion, for the greater security of their persons and property. These persons had circulated a story that Jackson would burn the city and all valuable property in reach rather than let it fall into the hands of the British.

Determined that disloyalty should find no foothold to mar his military plans, or to disaffect the soldiery or citizens, General Jackson, on the day previous to his declaration of martial law, issued the following spirited order:

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS.

The Major-general commanding, has, with astonishment and regret, learned that great consternation and alarm pervade your city. It is true the enemy is on our coast and threatens to invade our territory; but it is equally true that, with union, energy, and the approbation of Heaven, we will beat him at every point his temerity may induce him to set foot on our soil. The General, with still greater astonishment, has heard that British emissaries have been permitted to propagate seditious reports among you, that the threatened invasion is with a view to restore the country to Spain, from the supposition that some of you would be willing to return to your ancient government. Believe not such incredible tales; your Government is at peace with Spain. It is the vital enemy of your country,—the common enemy of mankind,—the highway robber of the world, that threatens you. He has sent his hirelings among you with this false report, to put you off your guard, that you may fall an easy prey. Then look to your liberties, your property, the chastity of your wives and daughters. Take a retrospect of the conduct of the British army at Hampton, and other places where it entered our country, and every bosom which glows with patriotism and virtue, will be inspired with indignation, and pant for the arrival of the hour when we shall meet and revenge these outrages against the laws of civilization and humanity.

The General calls upon the inhabitants of the city to trace this unfounded report to its source, and bring the propagator to condign punishment. The rules and articles of war annex the punishment of death to any person holding secret cor-

respondence with the enemy, creating false alarm, or supplying him with provision. The General announces his determination rigidly to execute the martial law in all cases which may come within his province.

By command.

THOMAS L. BUTLER,

Aid-de-camp.

BAYOU BIENVENUE AND THE BRITISH SPIES OF THE
FISHERMEN'S VILLAGE.

Bayou Bienvenue, formerly called St. Frances River, drains all the waters of a swamp-basin, of triangular form and about eighty square miles in surface, bounded on the west by New Orleans, on the northwest by Chef Menteur, and on the east by Lake Borgne, into which it empties. It receives the waters of several other bayous from the surrounding cypress swamps and prairies. It is navigable for vessels of one hundred tons burden as far as the junction with old Piernas Canal, twelve miles from its mouth. It is about one hundred and twenty yards in width, and has from six to nine feet of water at the bar, according to the flow of the tides. Its principal branch is Bayou Mazant, which runs to the southwest and receives the waters of the canals of the old plantations of Villere, Lacoste, and Laronde, on and near which the British army encamped, about eight miles below New

Orleans. The banks of these bayous, which drain the swamp lands on either side of the Mississippi, are usually about twelve feet below the banks of the river, which have been elevated by the deposit of sediment from overflows for centuries. These slopes, from the banks back to the swamps, usually ten to eighteen hundred yards, drain off the waters and form the tillable lands of the sugar and cotton planters. They are protected from overflows by levees thrown up on the banks of the river. These plantation lands formed the only ground in this country for the encampment of a large army, or available for a march on New Orleans. On nearly all the large sugar plantations canals were cut from the bank of the river running back to the swamp, to furnish at high tides water-power for mills which did the grinding or sawing for the plantations.

Bayous Bienvenue and Mazant, as mentioned, formed a waterway from Lake Borgne to the rear of the plantations of Villere, Lacoste, and Laronde, situated but two or three hours' easy march to the city, to which there was a continuous roadway through the plantation lands between the river and the swamps. The enemy was fully informed of every point of approach by spies within the military lines, and since the capture of the gunboats determined on an attempt to secretly invade the environ-

ing country, and to assault and capture New Orleans by surprise. But one mile from Lake Borgne, on the low bank of Bayou Bienvenue, was a village of Spanish and Portuguese fishermen and their families. From the bayous and adjacent lakes they furnished the city markets with fish, and were familiar with every body of water and every nook and inlet for many miles around. A number of these became notorious as spies in the pay of the British. Of this treacherous little colony, the names of Maringuier, Old Luiz, Francisco, Graviella, Antonio el Italiano, El Campechano, Mannellilo, and Garcia became known as connected with this disloyalty. These served the English as pilots to their barges, as guides to the best approaches to New Orleans, and as ready spies within and without. The English commander in charge sent Captain Peddie, of the army, on the twentieth of December, as a spy in the disguise of one of these fishermen, to inspect and report upon the feasibility of entering with the army at the mouth of Bayou Bienvenue, landing at the plantations above and marching suddenly by this route on the city. Old Luiz and two others of the fishermen were his guides. He safely and without suspicion penetrated to Villere's plantation, viewed the field for encampment there, and noted the easy route of approach to the city, without an obstruction in the way.

His report being most favorable, the British officer in command decided at once on invasion and attack from this direction.

FIVE THOUSAND BRITISH TROOPS ENTER BAYOU BIENVENUE AND LAND NEAR VILLERE'S PLANTATION.

By Jackson's order, Major Villere, son of General Villere, the owner of the plantation, placed a picket of twelve men at Fisherman's Village on the twenty-first, to watch and report promptly in case the enemy appeared there. After midnight, near the morning of the twenty-third, five advance barges bearing British troops glided noiselessly into Bienvenue from Lake Borgne, capturing the picket of twelve men without firing a gun. Soon after, the first division of the invading army, twenty-five hundred strong, under command of Colonel Thornton, appeared in eighty barges, and passed up the bayous to Villere's canal, where a landing was effected by the dawn of day. After a brief rest and breakfast, the march of two miles was made to Villere's plantation, arriving there at half-past eleven. The troops at once surrounded the house of General Villere, and surprised and made prisoners a company of the Third Louisiana Militia stationed there. Major Villere, after capture, escaped through a window at the risk of his life, reached the

river bank and crossed over in a small boat, and hastened to New Orleans with the startling news. Colonel Laronde also escaped, and reached headquarters in the early afternoon; on the day before he had reported the sighting of several suspicious vessels out upon Lake Borgne, seemingly to reconnoiter.

Jackson had ordered Majors Latour and Tatum, of his engineer corps, to reconnoiter in the direction of the Laronde and Lacoste plantations, and to carefully examine this avenue of approach by the enemy. These officers left the city at eleven o'clock, and had reached Laronde's, when they met several persons fleeing toward the city, who told them of the arrival of the British at Villere's, and of the capture of the outpost there. It was then but half-past one o'clock. The two scouts put spurs to their horses, and by two o'clock the General was informed of the facts. With that heroic promptness and intuition characteristic and ever present with him, he exclaimed with fierce emphasis: "By the eternal! the enemy shall not sleep upon our soil!" The invading movement was a complete surprise, and there was not yet a defensive work to obstruct the march of the British upon the coveted city. Only genius and courage of the highest order could have met successfully such an emergency, and Jackson alone seemed equal to the occasion.

JACKSON DETERMINES TO ATTACK—BLOODY NIGHT-BATTLE
OF THE TWENTY-THIRD OF DECEMBER.

Orders were issued rapidly, as the report of the alarm-gun gave notice to all to be ready. The troops were stationed within a radius of a few miles of the city, in garrisons. Major Plauche was summoned to bring down his battalion of uniformed volunteers from Bayou St. John, which summons was obeyed in a run all the way. General Coffee, encamped four miles above the city, under similar order, was at headquarters within one hour. Colonel McRae, with the Seventh regulars, Lieutenant Spotts, with two pieces of artillery, and Lieutenant Bellevue, with a detachment of marines, were all formed on the road near Montruil's plantation. Coffee's riflemen and Hinds' Mississippi dragoons formed the advance in the order of march. Beale's Orleans Rifles followed closely after, and by four o'clock these had taken position at Rodrique's Canal. The battalion of men of color, under Major Daquin, the Forty-fourth regulars, under Captain Baker, and Plauche's men, were in close supporting distance.

Commodore Patterson was requested to arm such vessels lying in the river as were ready, and to drop down and take station opposite the enemy. The schooner

Carolina was put in position; the sloop of war Louisiana could not steer in the stream. Governor Claiborne, with the First, Second, and Fourth Louisiana Militia, occupied a post in the plain of Gentilly, to cover the city on the side of Chef Menteur. A picket of five mounted men was fired on near the line of Laronde's and Lacoste's plantations, and driven in about four o'clock. A negro was apprehended, who had been sent by the British with printed copies of a proclamation in Spanish and French, in terms as follows: "Louisianians! remain quiet in your houses; your slaves shall be preserved to you, and your property respected. We make war only against Americans." This was signed by Admiral Cochrane and General Keene. Other copies were found.

About nightfall the troops were formed in line of battle, the left composed of a part of Coffee's men, Beale's Rifles, the Mississippi dragoons, and some other mounted riflemen, in all about seven hundred and thirty men, General Coffee in command, Colonel Laronde as guide. Under cover of the darkness, they took position back of the plantation of the latter. The right formed on a perpendicular line from the river to the garden of Laronde's plantation, and on its principal avenue. The artillery occupied the high road, supported by a detachment of marines. On the left of the artillery were stationed the Seventh

and Forty-fourth regulars, Plauche's and Daquin's battalions, and a squad of Choctaw Indians, all under the command of Colonel Ross.

The second invading division of the British army, made up of the Twenty-first, Forty-fourth, and Ninety-third Regiments, with a corps of artillery, in all about twenty-five hundred men, was disembarked at the terminus of Villere Canal at half-past seven o'clock in the evening of the twenty-third, just as the roar of the ship's cannon announced the opening of the night battle. At seven o'clock Commodore Patterson had anchored the *Carolina* in the Mississippi, as requested, in front of the British camp, and but a good musket-shot away. Such was the security felt by the enemy in camp that they stood upon the levee and viewed her as a common boat plying the river. Within thirty minutes she opened upon the enemy a destructive fire which spread consternation and havoc throughout their camp. In half an hour more they were driven out, with many killed and wounded. About eight o'clock the troops on the right, led by Jackson himself, began the attack on the enemy's left. The Seventh and Forty-fourth regulars became hotly engaged along the line, supported by McRae's artillery. Plauche's and Daquin's battalions coming up, the fighting became furious from the road to Laronde's garden. The British

were forced back within the limits of Lacoste's plantation, the combatants being often intermingled and fighting hand-to-hand, almost undistinguishable in the darkness of night, made denser by the smoke of battle and the gathering fog.

Meanwhile, Coffee's troops, from the rear of Laronde's plantation, were moved to the boundary limits of Lacoste and Villere, with a view of taking the enemy in the rear. Coffee extended his front and ordered his men to move forward in silence and to fire without orders, taking aim as best they could. They drove the enemy before them, and took a second position in front of Lacoste's plantation. Here was posted the Eighty-fifth Regiment of the British army, which was forced back by the first fire toward their main camp. Captain Beale's Riflemen advanced on the left into the British camp at Villere's, driving the enemy before them and taking some prisoners, but sustained some loss before joining Coffee again. Coffee's division finally took a last position in front of the old levee, near Laronde's boundary, where it harassed the enemy as they fell back, driven by Jackson on the right. By ten o'clock the British had fallen back to their camp in discomfiture, where they were permitted to lay in comparative quiet until morning, except their harassment from the artillery fire of the schooner *Carolina*.

In the darkness and confusion of combat at dead of night lines were broken and order lost at times, until it was difficult to distinguish friends from foes. General Jackson led his troops back to the opening point of the attack and rested them there until morning, when he fell back over one mile to Rodrigue's Canal, the position selected for the defense of the city.

Three hundred and fifty of the Louisiana militia, under command of General David Morgan, were stationed at English Turn, seven miles below Villere's, and nearly fourteen miles from New Orleans. Intelligence of the arrival of the British at Villere's, on the twenty-third, reached General Morgan's camp at one o'clock in the afternoon of the day. Officers and men expressed an eagerness to be led against the enemy; but General Morgan, not having then received orders from Jackson to that effect, deemed it prudent to hold them waiting in camp. At half-past seven o'clock, when the guns from the Carolina were heard bringing on the battle, it was found difficult to restrain them longer. Morgan finally, at the urgent request of his officers, gave orders to go forward, which the troops received with ardor. They reached a point near Jumonville's plantation, just below Villere's, when a picket guard in advance met a picket force of the enemy and fired on it; the fire was returned.

A reconnoiter failing to discover the numbers and position of the enemy in his front, Morgan took a position in a field until three o'clock in the morning, when he marched his men back to camp. The failure of this command to join issue in this battle, in concert with the other commands of Jackson's army, was apparently most unfortunate. The records do not show what orders, if any, were sent from headquarters by Jackson to General Morgan in summoning his forces in the afternoon of the day for the attack at night. It is barely possible that the General neglected to dispatch an order to, or to communicate with, the commander of so important a body of troops, in numbers nearly one fifth of the entire American forces engaged, in a critical hour when every available soldier was needed on the field of combat. A swift messenger sent by Jackson from headquarters at two o'clock, as to other outpost commands, could easily have reached English Turn at five o'clock. General Morgan knew that the invading army were in bivouac seven miles above. By eight o'clock he could have had his troops in attacking distance of the enemy, and in their rear. When Jackson and Coffee assaulted the British lines at eight o'clock, and drove them back in confusion upon their camp, a spirited surprise attack by Morgan's command in the rear, any moment before nine o'clock, would probably have

routed the entire British division engaged and forced them to lay down their arms or retreat to their boats. He did move his command forward, and halt them at some distance from the enemy, but it was probably too late. The battle was over and the opportunity gone.

An after-incident throws a ray of light upon the criticism of the day upon the above affair. Honorable Magloire Guichard, President of the House of Representatives, in his testimony before the Committee of Inquiry on the military measures employed by Jackson against the Legislature, said:

On the twenty-seventh of December, when I got home, I found Colonel Declouet (of Morgan's command), who had just crossed the river. Amid the conversation of the evening, I expressed my surprise at his not having attacked the British from the lower side, on the night of the twenty-third; that had he done so with the men under his command, at the same time with the troops coming from the city, all would have terminated on that evening, and the British would have laid down their arms. He expressed great sorrow that he had not been the master to do so. He declared that this was his intention, but that General Morgan refused to comply with his request. Afterwards, having resolved to come toward midnight to reconnoitre, they had met with a small picket, who fired upon them; they returned the fire, and then retired.

The British loss in this initial night-battle is put by our authorities at four to five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their own official reports admit three to five hundred. The Americans had twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners. The fall of Colonel Lauderdale, of Mississippi, was much lamented.

So unique in the annals of military experience was this fiercely fought night-battle, so startling in its surprise of the bold and confident Britons, and so characteristic of Jackson's grim humor of war, that it is interesting to know the impressions it made upon the minds of the enemy. With this view, we quote a vivid description from the history of an English officer who was in the campaigns against Napoleon, with Ross and Pakenham in America, and who was a participant in this battle, Captain Robert Gleig. He says:

About half-past seven at night our attention was drawn to a large vessel which seemed to be stealing up the river, opposite our camp, when her anchor was dropped and her sails quietly furled. She was repeatedly hailed, but gave no answer. An alarm spread through our bivouac, and all thought of sleep was abandoned. Several musket shots were fired at her, when we heard a commanding voice cry out: "Give them this for the honor of America!" The words were instantly followed by the flashes of her guns, and a deadly shower of grape swept down numbers in our camp.

Against this dreadful fire we had nothing as yet to oppose. We sought shelter under the levee, and listened in painful silence to the pattering of shot which fell among our troops, and to the shrieks and groans of the wounded who lay near by. The night was dark as pitch. Except the flashes of the enemy's guns, and the glare of our own deserted fires, not an object could be distinguished. In this state we lay helpless for nearly an hour, when a straggling fire of musketry, driving in our pickets, warned us to prepare for a closer and more desperate strife. This fire was presently succeeded by a fearful yell, while the heavens became illuminated on all sides by a semi-circular blaze of musketry.

Rushing from under the bank, the Eighty-fifth and Ninety-fifth Regiments flew to support the pickets; while the Fourth, stealing to the rear, formed close column as a reserve. But to describe this action is out of the question, for it was such a battle as the annals of warfare can hardly parallel. Each officer, as he was able to collect twenty or thirty men around him, advanced into the midst of the enemy, where they fought hand to hand, bayonet to bayonet, and sword to sword, with the tumult and ferocity of Homer's combats before the walls of Troy. Attacked unexpectedly in the dark, and surrounded by enemies before we could arrange to oppose them, no order or discipline of war could be preserved. We were mingled with the Americans before we could tell whether they were friends or foes. The consequence was that more feats of individual gallantry were performed in the course of the conflict than many campaigns might have afforded. The combat having begun at eight in the evening, and long and obstinately contested, continued until three in the morning; but the vic-

tory was decidedly ours, for the Americans retreated in the greatest disorder, leaving us in possession of the field. Our losses, however, were enormous. Not less than five hundred men had fallen, many of whom were our first and best officers.

The recall being sounded, our troops were soon brought together, forming in front of the ground where we had at first encamped. Here we remained until the morn, when, to avoid the fire of the vessel, we betook ourselves to the levee on the bank, and lay down. Here we lay for some hours, worn out with fatigue and loss of sleep, and shivering in the cold of a frosty morning, not daring to light a fire or cook a meal. Whenever an attempt was made, the ship's guns opened on us. Thus was our army kept prisoners for an entire day.

This was not a field victory for either combatant, but rather a drawn battle, as each party fell back to the lines occupied at the opening. It was a very great victory for the Americans in its bearings on the final issues of the campaign. The attack of Jackson was to the British like a bolt of lightning from a clear sky. It paralyzed and checked them on the first day, and at the first place of their encampment on shore, and enabled him to adopt measures to beat back the invaders in every attempt they made for a further advance inland. The enemy had found an open way and expected an easy march, with a certainty that the Crescent City, by Christmas Day, would become an easy prey for their "Loot and Lust,"

as Admiral Cochrane is said to have promised. Instead of a garden of delights, they had walked into a death-trap at the gate of entrance. Confidence and prestige were shaken in the front of a foe equal in valor and as skilled in arms as themselves. The rude reception given by Jackson had compelled the army of the invaders to halt in its first camp, and to re-form, to reinforce, and to rehabilitate its plans, before daring another step forward. This delay, fatal to the British, probably saved the city. On the next morning early (of the twenty-fourth) the first division of the British army would have been reinforced by the second division landed on the night of the battle, giving five thousand fresh veteran troops in bivouac at Villere's, with which to march upon the city. It was but seven miles distant, with a broad, level highway leading to it. Jackson could have opposed to this army not over two thousand men in the open field, where every advantage would have been with the enemy. With the bravery and discipline the latter showed in the surprise-battle at night, they would have made an irresistible march to victory against the city, had not the invincible Jackson paralyzed them with this first blow. It was a master-stroke, worthy the genius of a great commander.

The valor of the English soldiers was rarely, if ever, surpassed on a bloody field of contest. There was no

panic, no rout, no cowering under the murderous fire of the ship's guns, or when the blaze of musketry encircled them in the darkness of the night. Although the ranks were broken and little order prevailed, the men rallied to the calls of the nearest officers, and plunged into the thickest of the strife. Only this veteran discipline and stubborn British courage saved the enemy from rout and worse disaster. Colonel Thornton, the bravest and most skillful of the officers of the English army, as he repeatedly proved himself, commanded on this occasion. General Keene had not yet come up.

The American forces engaged were: United States regulars, Seventh Regiment, Major Peire, four hundred and sixty-five men, and Forty-fourth Regiment, Captain Baker, three hundred and thirty-one men; marines, Lieutenant Bellevue, sixty-six; artillery, McRae, twenty-two; Major Plauche's battalion, two hundred and eighty-seven; Major Daquin's battalion of St. Domingo men of color, two hundred and ten; Choctaws, Captain Jug-eant, eighteen; Coffee's Tennessee Brigade, five hundred and sixty-three; Orleans Rifles, Captain Beale, sixty-two; and Mississippi Dragoons, Major Hinds, one hundred and seven; in all, twenty-one hundred and thirty-one men.

JACKSON ENTRENCHES AT RODRIQUE'S OLD CANAL SITE.

As mentioned, Jackson occupied the line of Rodrique's Canal, two miles above the British camp at Villere's, and five miles below the city. The space from the river here back to the swamp was but seventeen hundred yards, making it an admirable line for defense. Early on the twenty-fourth every available man was put to work throwing up a breastwork on the upper side of the canal, while pieces of artillery were planted at commanding points for immediate emergency. Negroes from the adjacent plantations were called in to expedite the work of building the entrenchment and suitable redoubts, as had been done at other works of fortification and defense. On the twenty-fifth, General Morgan was ordered to abandon the post at English Turn and to move his command of Louisiana militia to a position on the right bank of the river, at Flood's plantation, opposite Jackson's camp.

THE SHIP CAROLINA BURNED WITH HOT SHOT—ARTILLERY DUEL ON THE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

The enemy determined to destroy the ship *Carolina*, as she lay out in the river, from whose deadly broadsides by day and by night they had been so terribly harassed since the opening of the night battle of the twenty-third.

Having brought up their artillery from their landing-place, they erected a battery commanding that part of the river, with a furnace for heating shot. On the twenty-seventh, they opened fire in range, and in fifteen minutes the schooner was set on fire by the red-hot missiles and burned to the water's edge. The fire of the battery was next directed against the Louisiana, a larger war-vessel, the preservation of which was of great importance. Lieutenant Thompson, in command, with the combined efforts of one hundred men of his crew, succeeded under fire of the battery in towing her beyond the range of the guns of the enemy.

On the evening of the twenty-seventh the British moved forward in force, drove in the American advance lines, and occupied Chalmette's plantation, one mile above Laronde's. During the night they began to establish several batteries along the river. At dawn of day on the twenty-eighth they advanced in columns on the road, preceded by several pieces of artillery, some playing upon the Louisiana and others on the American lines. The ship's crew waited until the columns of the enemy were well in range, when they opened upon them a destructive fire, which silenced their guns. While this oblique fire fell upon the flank of the British, the batteries on the American line answered them from the front with

much effect. One shot from the Louisiana killed fifteen of the enemy's men. Some of his guns were dismounted, and he was driven from several of his batteries. In seven hours' cannonading the ship fired eight hundred shot. The enemy threw into the American ranks many Congreve rockets, evidently misled in the hope that these ugly-looking missiles would strike terror to the ranks of our troops. These soon learned that they were not so dangerous as they appeared. The infantry this day did not engage in more than heavy picket skirmishing, and in checking the demonstrations of the enemy on our lines. This movement all along the line was evidently a feint in force, to draw from Jackson's army information as to the powers of resistance it might offer and to ascertain its most vulnerable point of attack. The loss of the British this day was estimated at two hundred; that of the Americans much less, as they were mainly sheltered from the enemy's fire. There were nine killed and eight wounded.

DEFENSES ON THE WEST BANK OF THE RIVER.

Realizing that the enemy might suddenly throw a force across the river, and by a flank movement up the right bank gain a position opposite the city, from which, by shot and shell, he might compel a surrender,

Jackson sent Major Latour, chief of his engineer corps, to the west side, with orders to select a position most suitable for a fortified line in the rear of General Morgan's camp. Bois-Gervais Canal, three miles below New Orleans, was fixed upon, and one hundred and fifty negroes from the plantations near at once set to work. In six days they completed the parapet, with a glacis on the opposite side.

Commodore Patterson removed from the Louisiana a number of her guns, which he placed in battery in front of Jordon's plantation, on the right bank, with which he did important service to the end of the campaign. This formidable battery was formed to give a deadly flanking fire on the enemy's ranks from the opposite bank of the river. It was manned and served by sailors, mostly landed from the Carolina when she was burned. They had been enlisted about the city after the gunboats were destroyed; men of all nations, not a third of them speaking the English language. The constant daily fire of this battery caused the British to fall back from Chalmette's and Bienvenue's houses and to seek safer quarters in the rear, after the artillery duels of the twenty-eighth.

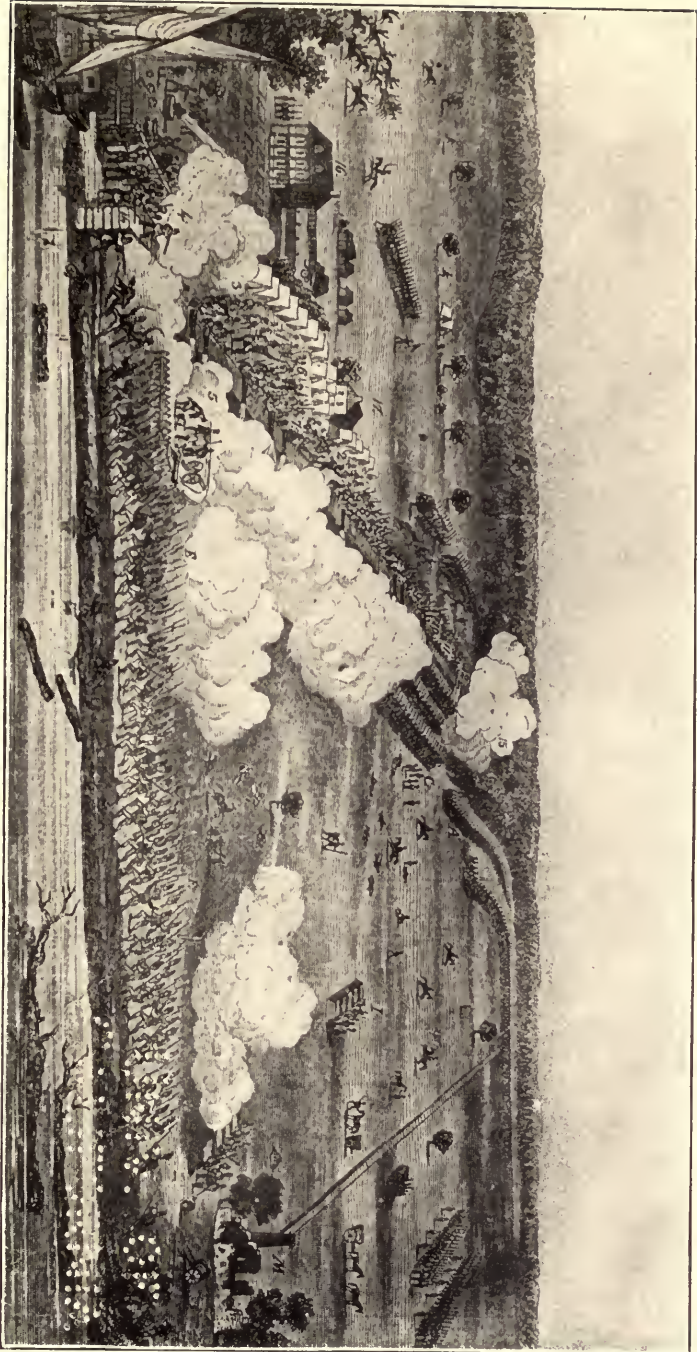
Captain Henly, of the late ship Carolina, was placed in command of a strong redoubt on the bank of the river, opposite New Orleans, around which was a fosse twenty-

five feet in width, the earth from which was thrown up to form a steep glacis, from the summit of the wall serving as a parapet to the brink of the fosse. Here a battery of two twenty-four pounders commanded at once the road and the river back to the swamp.

The Tennesseans, placed on the left, and operating in the undergrowth of the woods of the swamp, were a continual terror to the British sentinels and outposts. Clad in their brown hunting-dress, they were indistinguishable in the bush, while with their long rifles they picked off some of the British daily. The entrenchment line was being daily strengthened.

A SECOND ATTEMPT TO BREACH THE AMERICAN WORKS,
ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY—GREAT
ARTILLERY DUEL.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth, Sir Edward Pakenham arrived at the British headquarters, and at once assumed chief command of the army in person. He was a favorite of Lord Wellington in the Peninsular campaigns, and held in high esteem by the English Government and people. His presence imparted great enthusiasm to the officers and men of the army, a majority of whom had served under him in other wars. The invad-



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1815.

ing British forces were now swelled to over ten thousand men for present service. On the thirtieth and thirty-first, the enemy was ominously busy in throwing up redoubts and in pushing his offensive works in threatening nearness to our lines. In front of Bienvenue's house he constructed a battery, of hogsheads of sugar taken from the near plantations, the season for grinding the cane and converting the product into sugar having just closed. A redoubt was also begun at a point nearer the wood, fronting the American left, and some guns mounted by the thirty-first. A heavy cannonading was opened on this day, from this and other batteries along the British front, to which our own guns responded, including those of the marine battery across the river, until two in the afternoon.

These demonstrative movements of the enemy, with his busy reconnoitering, foreboded an attack in force.

In the night of the thirty-first he erected, under cover of darkness, two other batteries of heavy guns at a distance of six hundred yards from the front of Jackson's entrenchments, on a ditch running along the side of Chalmette's plantation, at distances of three and six hundred yards from the river. During the night the men working on the platforms and mounting the ordnance could be distinctly heard.

On the morning of the 1st of January, 1815, the earth was veiled by a dense fog until eight o'clock. As the misty cloud lifted above the horizon, the enemy opened up a terrific fire from his three batteries in front, mounting respectively two, eight, and eight pieces of heavy cannon. A meteor-like shower of Congreve rockets accompanied the balls, filling the air for fifteen minutes with these missiles of terror. The two batteries nearest the river directed their fire against McCarty's house, some hundreds of yards behind our front line, where Jackson and his staff had their headquarters. In less than ten minutes more than one hundred balls, rockets, and shells struck the house. Bricks, splinters of wood, and broken furniture were sent flying in all directions, making the premises dangerously untenable. General Jackson and his staff occupied the house at the time; yet, strange to say, not a person was even wounded. There is no account that the old hero "ingloriously fled," but it is in evidence that he retired with commendable dispatch to a safer place.

Though the batteries of the enemy were in a better position, on a lower plane, and with a narrower front than those of the Americans, the gunners of the latter fired with more precision and effect on this day, and on other occasions, as their own officers afterward admitted.

In an hour's time the fire from the enemy's side began to slacken, and continued to abate until noon, when his two batteries to the right were abandoned. Our balls dismounted several of his guns early in the day, and in the afternoon the greater part of his artillery was dismounted or unfit for service. The carriages of three of the guns on the American side were broken, and two caissons, with over one hundred rounds of ammunition, were blown up by rockets, at which the enemy loudly cheered. The cheeks of the embrasures of our batteries were formed of cotton bales, which the enemy's balls struck, sending the cotton flying through the air. The impression that Jackson's breastwork line was constructed of bales of cotton is a mistake. Bales of cotton were used only at the bottom and sides of the embrasures, for a firmer support for the artillery, beneath a casing of heavy plank. The British, in the absence of cotton bales, used hogsheads of sugar, which were conveniently near, for the same purposes. These our shot easily knocked to pieces, saturating the damp earth around with the saccharine sweets. Our breastworks were more substantially and easily made of the alluvial earth.

The guns of the British batteries nearest the levee were directed in part against the marine battery across the river during the day, but with little effect. Before

the close the enemy's guns were silenced, and several of them abandoned. The British columns were in readiness, drawn up in several parallel lines, prudently awaiting in the back ditches and the trenches between the batteries a favorable moment to advance to an assault of our lines. In this they were disappointed; the superiority of the American artillery left them no hope of an advantage by breaching our lines with this arm. That this was their object their own authorities state. The losses this day of the Americans were thirty-five killed and wounded; the enemy admitted a loss of seventy-five. During the night of the first of January, the latter succeeded in removing his heavy guns from the dismantled batteries, dragging them off with much difficulty through the mired earth.

A VIEW FROM THE ENEMY'S STANDPOINT.

It is interesting to view a situation from an enemy's standpoint, and to know the impressions made upon an enemy's mind in a great issue like the one of contest. We quote again from Gleig's "Campaigns of the English Army":

It was Christmas Day, and a number of officers, clubbing their scant stocks of provisions, resolved to dine together in memory of former times. But at so melancholy a Christmas

dinner, I do not remember to have been present. We dined in a barn; of tableware, of viands, and of good cookery, there was a dismal scarcity. These were matters, however, of minor thought; the want of many well-known and beloved faces thrilled us with pain. While sitting at the table, a loud shriek from outside startled the guests. On running out, we found that a shot from the enemy's ship had cut almost in twain the body of a soldier, and he was gasping in death.

On the twenty-eighth, the British army advanced in full force, supported by ten pieces of artillery, with a view to a final assault. They did not do much more than the bringing on of a heavy artillery duel, in which they were severely worsted and driven back to camp. That the Americans are excellent shots, as well with artillery as with rifles, we had frequent cause to acknowledge; but perhaps on no occasion did they assert their claim to the title of good artillerymen more effectually than on the present. Scarcely a shot passed over, or fell short; but all striking full into our ranks, occasioned terrible havoc. The crash of the fire-locks and the fall of the killed and wounded, caused at first some confusion. In half an hour three of our heavy guns were dismounted, many gunners killed, and the rest obliged to retire. The infantry advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape shot, until they were checked by a canal in front. A halt was ordered, and the men commanded to shelter themselves in a wet ditch as best they could.

Thus it fared with the left of the army. The right failing to penetrate through the swamp, and faring no better, was compelled to halt. All thought of a general attack for this day was abandoned. It only remained to withdraw the troops

from their perilous position with as little loss as possible. This was done, not in a body, but regiment by regiment, under the same discharge which saluted their approach.

There seemed now but one practicable way of assault; to treat these field-works as one would treat a regular fortification, by erecting breaching batteries against them, and silencing, if possible, their guns. To this end three days were employed in landing heavy cannon, bringing up ammunition, and making other preparations, as for a siege. One half of the army was ordered out on the night of the thirty-first, quietly led up to within three hundred yards of the enemy's works, and busily employed in throwing up a chain of works. Before dawn, six batteries were completed, with thirty pieces of heavy cannon mounted, when the troops, before the dawn of day, fell back and concealed themselves behind some thick brush in the rear. The Americans had no idea of what was going on until morning came. This whole district was covered with the stubble of sugar-cane, and every storehouse and barn was filled with large barrels containing sugar. In throwing up the works this sugar was used. Rolling the hogsheads towards the front, they were placed in the parapets of the batteries. Sugar, to the amount of many thousand pounds sterling, was thus disposed of.

On the morning of January 1st, a thick haze obscured the sun, and all objects at the distance of a few yards, for some hours. Finally, as the clouds of fog drifted away, the American camp was fully exposed to view, but three hundred yards away. The different regiments were upon parade, and presented a fine appearance. Mounted officers rode to and fro, bands were playing, and colors floating in the air. All seemed

gala, when suddenly our batteries opened. Their ranks were broken; the different corps dispersing, fled in all directions, while the utmost terror and disorder appeared to prevail.

While this consternation lasted among the infantry, their artillery remained silent; but soon recovering confidence, they answered our salute with great precision and rapidity. A heavy cannonade on both sides continued during the day, until our ammunition began to fail—our fire slackening, while that of the enemy redoubled. Landing a number of guns from their flotilla, they increased their artillery to a prodigious amount. They also directed their cannon on the opposite bank against the flank of our batteries, and soon convinced us that all endeavors to surpass them in this mode of fighting would be useless. Once more, we were obliged to retire, leaving our heavy guns to their fate. The fatigue of officers and men, it would be difficult to form a conception of. For two entire nights and days not a man had closed his eyes, except to sleep amid showers of cannon-balls. We retreated, therefore, baffled and disheartened. It must be confessed that a murmur of discontent began to be heard in the camp. The cannon and mortars of the enemy played on our men night and day, from thier main position; likewise a deadly fire from eighteen pieces on the opposite bank swept the entire line of our encampment. The duty of a picket was as dangerous as to go into battle. The American sharpshooters harassed them from the time they went on duty till they were relieved; while to light fires served only as marks for the enemy's gunners. The murmurs were not of men anxious to escape from a disagreeable situation; but rather resembled the growlings of a chained animal, when he sees his adversary, but can not reach him. All were eager to bring matters to the issue of a battle, at any sacrifice.

TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY TROOPS ARRIVE—GOVERNMENT CENSURED FOR NEGLECT.

General Carroll's division of Tennessee troops arrived about this time; also the Louisiana militia were reinforced by several companies from the more distant parishes. On the fourth of January the entire body of Kentucky militia reached New Orleans, twenty-two hundred in number, and went into camp on Prevost's plantation. The day following, seven hundred and fifty of these repaired to the lines, and went into camp in the rear, arms being furnished to but five hundred of the number. There were, at this time, nearly two thousand brave and willing men within Jackson's lines, whose services were lost to the army and to the country for the want of arms. The dangerous delay of the arrival of the troops, and with this, the failure of the arrival of the arms and munitions necessary to equip the men for service, had their beginning in the culpable negligence of the War Department at Washington, of which history has had occasion to complain. But a more immediate cause for the irreparable delay in the arrival of the stores for arming and equipping the troops is found in the conduct of the quartermaster who superintended the shipment of the same from Pittsburgh. Though he was offered a contract

to ship these supplies by a steamboat, and to deliver them at New Orleans in ample time for use, for some reason he declined the offer. He then had them loaded on a flatboat and slowly floated to their destination, when there was little or no hope of their arrival in time for use. At the date of the final battle at New Orleans they were afloat somewhere near the mouth of the Ohio River, and of course did not arrive until many days after all need of them was over.

On the twenty-ninth of December, General Jackson wrote to the Secretary of War these words of protest against this failure to make provision for his army in such a crisis as the present:

I lament that I have not the means of carrying on more offensive operations. The Kentucky troops have not arrived, and my effective force at this point does not exceed three thousand men. That of the enemy must be at least double; both prisoners and deserters agreeing in the statement that seven thousand landed from their boats.

When the militia of Kentucky were called for, Governor Shelby was assured that the United States quartermaster would furnish transportation for the troops to New Orleans; but no such officer reported himself, and no relief came from Washington. The men had rendezvoused on the banks of the Ohio in waiting, and here

the expedition must have ended had not Colonel Richard Taylor, of Frankfort, then quartermaster of the State militia, on his own credit, borrowed a sum sufficient to meet the immediate emergency. With this he purchased such boats as he could, some of which were unfit for the passage. Camp equipage could not be had in time, and about thirty pots and kettles were bought at Louisville, one to each company of eighty men. At the mouth of the Cumberland River they were detained eight days, with their axes and frowes riving boards with which to patch up their old boats. From this point they started with half a supply of rations, to which they added as they could on the way down the Mississippi River. The men knew there was due them an advance of two months' pay when ordered out of the State. The United States quartermaster distributed this pay to the Tennessee troops who had preceded them, but withheld it from the Kentuckians. Believing that they would be furnished suitable clothing or pay, blankets, tents, arms, and munitions with reasonable promptness, they left home with little else than the one suit of clothing they wore, usually of homespun jeans. As a writer has said: "Rarely, if ever, has it been known of such a body of men leaving their homes, unprovided as they were, and risking a difficult passage of fifteen hundred miles in the

crudest of barges to meet an enemy. They could have been prompted alone by a patriotic love of country and a defiance of its enemies." This contribution of Kentucky for the defense of Louisiana was made just after she had furnished over ten thousand volunteer troops in the campaigns of Harrison in the Northwest, who made up the larger part of the soldiers in that army for the two years previous, and who recently had won the great victory at the battle of the Thames. Governor Shelby tendered to the government ten thousand more Kentuckians for the army of the Southwest, if they were needed to repel the invaders.

It was in the midst of an unusually severe winter in Louisiana, in a season of almost daily rainfalls, when the Kentucky and part of the Tennessee troops reached their destination. They went into camp without tents or blankets or bedding of straw even, on the open and miry alluvial ground, with the temperature at times at freezing point. This destitution and consequent suffering at once enlisted the attention and sympathies of the public. The Legislature of Louisiana, in session, promptly voted six thousand dollars for relief, to which the generous citizens added by subscription ten thousand dollars more. With these funds materials were purchased. The noble women of New Orleans, almost without an exception, devoted themselves day and night to making

up the materials into suitable garments and distributing them as they were most needed. In one week's time the destitute soldiers were supplied and made comfortable. These backwoodsmen defenders of their country did not forget till their dying day the generous and timely ministries in a time of trial, in which the women and the men of Louisiana, and especially of New Orleans, seemed to vie; nor did they cease to speak in their praise.

Again, in view of the approaching battle, Jackson, in correspondence with the Secretary of War, complains that the arms from Pittsburgh had not yet arrived, expressing grave apprehensions of the consequences. "Hardly," said he, "one third of the Kentucky troops, so long expected, are armed; and the arms they have are barely fit for use." He presages that the defeat of our armies and the dishonor of the officers commanding, and of the nation, may be consequences chargeable to the neglect of the government.

The American batteries on both sides of the river continued day and night to fire upon and harass the British. Wherever a group of the latter appeared, or an assailable object presented, the American fire was directed to disperse or destroy. This incessant cannonading exercised our gunners in the more skillful use of their pieces, annoyed the enemy in the work of his fortifications, and rendered his nights well-nigh sleepless.

JACKSON'S ENTRENCHED LINE, AND THE POSITIONS OF
THE TROOPS AND ARTILLERY.

Jackson's lines, five miles below the city, were along the canal, or old mill-race, on the border of the plantations of Rodrique and Chalmette. The old ditch, unused for years, had filled up in part with the washings of the earth from its sides, and grown over with grass. It was chosen because it lay at a point the shortest in distance from the river to the swamp, and thus the more easily defended. Along the upper bank of the canal a parapet was raised, with a banquet behind to stand upon, by earth brought from the rear of the line, thus raising the original embankment. The opposite side of the canal was but little raised, forming a kind of glacis.

Plank and posts from the adjacent fencing were taken to line the parapet and to prevent the earth from falling back into the canal. All this was done at intervals of relief, by the different corps, assisted by labor from the plantations near. It was not until the seventh of January that the whole extent of the breastwork was proof against the enemy's cannon.

The length of the line was less than one mile, more than half of which ran from the river to the wood, the remainder extending into the depths of the wood, taking

an oblique direction to the left and terminating in the impassable swamp. The parapet was about five feet in height and from ten to twenty feet thick at the base, extending inland from the river one thousand yards. Beyond that, to the wood and swamp, where artillery could not well be employed, the breastwork was formed of a double row of logs, laid one over the other, leaving a space of two feet, which was filled with earth.

The artillery was distributed on the line as follows:

Battery 1, Captain Humphries, of the United States artillery, consisted of two twelve-pounders and a howitzer, on field carriages, and was located thirty yards from the river, outside the levee.

Battery 2, ninety yards from Battery 1; Lieutenant Norris, of the navy; one twenty-four pounder.

Battery 3, fifty yards from Battery 2; Captains Dominique and Bluche, of the Baratarians; two twenty-four pounders.

Battery 4, twenty yards from Battery 3; Captain Crawly, of the navy, one thirty-two pounder, served by part of the crew of the Carolina.

Battery 5, Colonel Perry and Lieutenant Carr, of the artillery; two six-pounders, one hundred and ninety yards from Battery 4.

Battery 6, thirty-six yards from Battery 5; Lieutenant Bertel; one brass twelve-pounder.

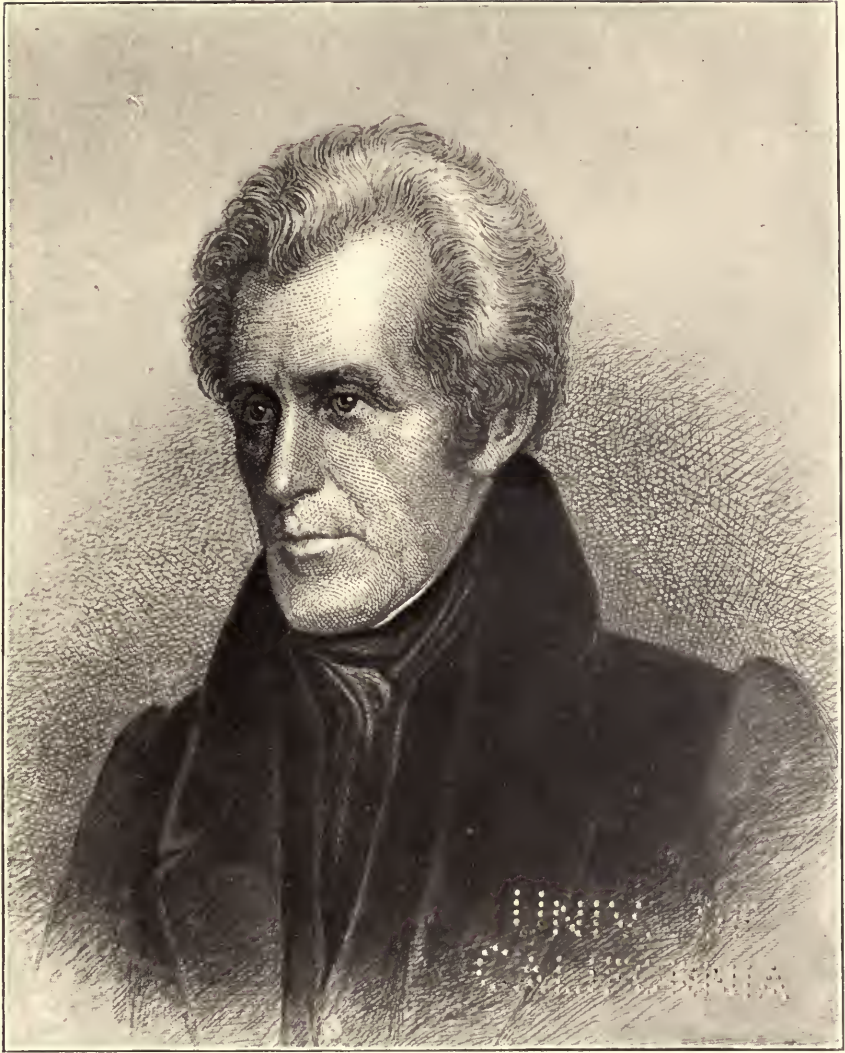
Battery 7, one hundred and ninety yards from Battery 6; Lieutenants Spotts and Chauveau; one eighteen- and one six-pounder.

Battery 8, sixty yards from Battery 7; one brass carronade, next Carroll's and Adair's commands.

Out beyond this last piece the line formed a receding elbow, mentioned above, made unavoidable by great sinks in the soil, filled with water from the canal. Here, and beyond into the wood, the ground was so low that the troops were literally encamped in the water, walking often in mire a foot in depth, their few tents being pitched on small mounds surrounded with water or mud. Amid these discomforts, in this ague-breeding miasm, the Tennesseans, under Generals Coffee and Carroll, and the Kentuckians, under General Adair, for days endured the dangers of battle and privations of camp and campaign. As one historian who was with Jackson's army writes: "They gave an example of the rarest military virtues. Though constantly living and sleeping in the mire, these patriotic men never uttered a complaint or showed the least symptoms of impatience. It was vitally necessary to guard that quarter against an attack on our flank, and to repulse him on the edge of our breastwork, where artil-

lery could not be employed. We had no battery on the center and left for thirteen hundred yards, the nature of the ground not admitting. The Tennesseans and Kentuckians defended this entire two thirds of our line with rifles and muskets only. As anticipated, the enemy made his main assault against these rifles and muskets, in a vain attempt to flank our army."

A view of the positions of the respective corps in Jackson's line will be of interest here. The redoubt on the river, where the right of the line rested, was guarded by a company of the Seventh United States Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Ross; the artillery was served by a detachment of the Forty-fourth United States Infantry, under Lieutenant Marant. At the extremity of the line, between Battery 1 and the river, was posted Captain Beale's company of New Orleans Rifles, thirty men strong. The Seventh United States Regiment covered the space from Batteries 1 to 3, four hundred and thirty men, commanded by Major Peire. The interval between Batteries 3 and 4 was occupied by Major Plauche's battalion of Louisiana uniformed companies, and by Major Lacoste's battalion of Louisiana men of color, the former two hundred and eighty-nine men, and the latter two hundred and eighty strong. From Batteries 4 to 5, the line was held by Major Daquin's bat-



ANDREW JACKSON,
Seventh President of the United States.

talion of St. Domingo men of color, one hundred and fifty in number; and next to these were placed the Forty-fourth United States Regulars, two hundred and forty men, commanded by Colonel Baker.

From this point toward the center and left, for eight hundred yards, the breastwork was manned by the troops from Tennessee, commanded by General Carroll, and the Kentuckians, under command of General Adair, supported by the men of the nearest batteries. General Carroll reported that he had over one thousand Tennesseans in his immediate command, in line of action. General Adair had, on the morning of the seventh of January, received arms for only six hundred of the Kentucky troops. He says, in a subsequent correspondence, that on the seventh, anticipating the attack of the British the following day, he went into New Orleans, and plead with the Mayor and Committee of Safety to lend him, for temporary use, several hundred stand of arms stored in the city armory and held for the defense of the city in emergency, and to put a check to any possible insurrectionary disturbance. To this the Mayor and committee finally consented, on the condition that the removal of the arms out of the city should be kept secret from the public. To this end, instead of General Adair marching in and arming his men, the city authorities had the

arms, concealed in boxes, hauled out to the camp and delivered there. This was done late in the dusk of the evening, and on the night of the seventh four hundred more of the Kentuckians were thus armed and marched forward to take a position with their comrades just in the rear of the entrenchment, making one thousand Kentuckians under arms and ready for to-morrow's battle.

In council with General Jackson, General Adair had suggested that the British would most probably endeavor to break our line by throwing heavy columns against it at some chosen point; and that such was the discipline of their veterans, they might succeed in the effort without very great resistance was made. To be prepared for such a contingency, it would be well to place a strong reserve of troops centrally in the rear of the line, ready at a moment's notice to reinforce the line at the point of assault. Jackson approved this suggestion, and gave orders to General Adair to hold the Kentucky troops of his command in position for such contingency. With Colonel Slaughter's regiment of seven hundred men, and Major Reuben Harrison's battalion, three hundred and five men (the Kentuckians under arms), Adair took position just in the rear of Carroll's Tennesseans, occupying the center of the breastwork line.

By the statements of their commanders, the joint forces of the Tennesseans and Kentuckians defending the left center were about two thousand men. General Coffee's Tennesseans, five hundred in number, occupied the remainder of the line on the left, which made an elbow-curve into the wood, terminating in the swamp. Ogden's squad of cavalry and a detachment of Attakapas dragoons, about fifty men in all, were posted near the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, and these were later joined by Captain Chauvau, with thirty mounted men from the city. The Mississippi cavalry, Major Hinds in command, were held in reserve, one hundred and fifty strong, posted on Delery's plantation. Detachments of Colonel Young's Louisiana militia, in all about two hundred and fifty men, were placed on duty at intervals on the skirts of the wood, behind the line as far as Piernas' Canal. Four hundred yards in the rear a guard was posted to prevent any one going out of the camp, and a line of sentinels was extended to the wood for the same purpose.

The above details show that there were of Jackson's army on the left bank of the river, on active duty, about forty-six hundred men; yet on the battle-line of the eighth of January there were less than four thousand to engage the enemy. The remainder were in reserve, or on guard duty at various points.

From official reports and historical statements derived from British sources, there were present and in the corps of the British army of assault, on the morning of the eighth of January, about eleven thousand men, fully eight thousand of whom were in the attacking columns and reserve on the left bank of the river, the flower of the English army.

THE BATTLE OF SUNDAY, THE EIGHTH OF JANUARY.

It was not yet daybreak on the morning of the eighth of January when an American outpost came hastily in, with the intelligence that the enemy was in motion and advancing in great force. In brief time, as the day began to dawn, the light discovered to our men what seemed the entire British army in moving columns, occupying two thirds of the space from the wood to the river. Obedient to the commands of their officers, who gallantly led in front of their men, the massive columns of the enemy moved up with measured and steady tread. Suddenly a Congreve rocket, set off at a point nearest the wood, blazed its way across the British front in the direction of the river. This was the signal for attack. Immediately the first shot from the American line was fired from the twelve-pounder of Battery 6. This was answered by three cheers from the enemy, who quickly

formed in close column of more than two hundred men in front and many lines deep. These advanced in good order in the direction of Batteries 7 and 8, and to the left of these. It was now evident that the main assault would be made upon that part of the breastwork occupied by Carroll's Tennesseans, with the intent to break the line here and flank Jackson's army on the right.

As soon in the morning as word came that the British were in motion for an advance, General Adair formed his Kentuckians in two lines in close order, and marched them to within fifty paces of the breastwork, in the rear of Carroll's command. The day had dawned, and the fog slowly lifted. There was no longer doubt of the point of main assault, as the enemy's heaviest columns moved forward in Carroll's front. The lines of the Kentucky troops were at once moved up in order of close column to the Tennesseans, deepening the ranks to five or six men for several hundred yards. Batteries 6, 7, and 8 opened upon the enemy when within four or five hundred yards, killing and wounding many, but causing no disorder in his ranks nor check to his advance. As he approached in range, the terrible fire of rifles and musketry opened upon him from the Tennessee and Kentucky infantry, each line firing and falling back to reload, giving place to the next line to advance and fire.

The British attack was supported by a heavy artillery fire, while a cloud of rockets continued to fall in showers throughout the contest. The assaulting columns did little execution with small arms, as they came up relying more on the use of the bayonet in case of effecting a breach in our line. Some of them carried fascines and ladders in expectation of crossing the ditch and scaling the parapet. But all in vain. The musketry and rifles of the Tennessee and Kentucky militia, joining with the fire of the artillery, mowed down whole files of men, and so decimated their ranks as to throw them into a panic of disorder and force a retreat. This first disastrous repulse was within twenty-five minutes after the opening of the battle. Writers present who have undertaken to describe the scene at the time say that the constant rolling fire of cannon and musketry resembled the rattling peals of thunder following the lightning flashes in a furious electric storm. An English officer present mentions the phenomenon, that though the flashes of the guns were plainly visible in front, the firing seemed to be from the wood and swamp a mile or two away on the left. They did not hear the sound from the front, but only the echoes from the direction named, as though the battle raged out there.

The defeated column, forced to fall back broken and disordered, was finally rallied by the heroic efforts of the

officers, reinforced with fresh troops, and led to a second attempt at assault; but the carnage and destruction were as great as in the first attempt, while almost no impression was made upon the defensive line of the Americans. The British were again compelled to retreat in disorder, leaving great numbers of their comrades dead or wounded on the ground, or prisoners to the Americans. The hope of victory had now become a forlorn one to the British. They were broken in numbers, broken in order and discipline, and broken in prestige. Yet the brave officers, led by their commanders-in-chief, determined not to give up the contest without a last desperate effort. A part of the troops had dispersed and retreated to shelter among the bushes on their right; the rest retired to the ditch where they were first perceived in the morning, about five hundred yards in our front. In vain did the officers call upon the men to rally and form again for another advance, striking some with the flat of their swords, and appealing to them by every incentive. They felt that it was almost certain destruction to venture again into the storm of fire that awaited them, and were insensible to everything but escape from impending death. They would not move from the ditch, and here sheltered the rest of the day. The ground over which they had twice advanced and twice retreated was strewn thickly

with their dead and wounded. Such slaughter of their own men, with no apparent loss on our side, was enough to appal the bravest of mankind.

Nearly one hundred of the enemy reached the ditch in front of the American breastwork, half of whom were killed and the other half captured. A detachment of British troops had penetrated into the wood toward our extreme left, to divert attention by a feint attack. The troops under General Coffee opened on these with their rifles, and soon forced them to retire.

After the main attack on the American left and center had begun, another column of over twenty-five hundred men, under the command of General Keene, advanced along the road near the levee, and between the levee and the river, to attack the American line on the extreme right. They were partly sheltered by the levee from the fire of the artillery, except that of Battery 1 and the guns across the river. Our outposts were driven in, and the head of the column pushing forward occupied the unfinished redoubt in front of our entrenched line before more than two or three discharges of artillery could be made. Overpowering the small force here, they compelled it to fall back, after killing and wounding a few men. Bravely led by Colonel Rence and other officers of rank, the British gained a momentary advan-

tage, and threatened to storm the entrenchment itself. But Beale's Rifles from the city, defending this extreme, poured fatal volleys upon the head of the column, while Batteries 1 and 2 mowed down the ranks. The Seventh Regiment, the only infantry besides Beale's in musket range, did deadly execution also. By these, the farther advance of the enemy was made impossible, while the nearest ground they occupied was strewn with their dead and wounded, among whom were General Keene, Colonel Rence, and other prominent officers. Many passed the ditch and scaled the parapet only to be shot down in the redoubt by the unerring riflemen behind the entrenched line. Like the main column on the left, this second column on the right, broken and shattered, was compelled to fall back in great disorder upon the reserve, with no effort after to renew the assault. The dead and wounded lay thick along the road, the levee, and the river bank, as far out as the range of our guns. A flanking fire from the battery across the river harassed the troops in this column both in the advance and retreat, as they passed in plain view, from which fire they sustained severe losses.

The battle was now ended as far as the firing of musketry and small arms was concerned. The last volleys from these ceased one hour after the British column first

in motion attacked our line upon the left center, at half-past seven o'clock. In that brief time, one of the best equipped and best disciplined armies that England ever sent forth was defeated and shattered beyond hope by one half its number of American soldiers, mostly militia. For one hour after the opening attack the firing along the American line had been incessant, and the roar of the cannon, mingling with the rattling noise of the musketry and rifles, reverberated over the open plains and echoed back from the wood and swamp, until the issue of combat sent the enemy to cover beyond range. The artillery from our batteries, however, kept up a continuous fire against the guns of the enemy, or against squads of their troops who might expose themselves, until two o'clock in the afternoon, when the lull of strife came to all.

The scene upon the field of contest was one that can not be pictured in words to convey an adequate impression. British officers who campaigned in Europe, in the wars of the Peninsula, testified that in all their military experiences they had witnessed nothing to equal the stubborn fierceness of the contending forces, and the fearful carnage that befell the troops of the British army. We have mentioned how thickly strewn was the ground along the levee and the road, on the right next to the river, with the dead and the wounded of the enemy. The fatal-

ity among the officers here was fearful. General Keene, in command of this second attacking column, was borne from the field badly wounded. Colonel Rence, next in command with Keene, was killed while leading the assault in the redoubt. Near by fell Major King, mortally wounded, and others of rank, leaving the command with but few leaders to conduct the broken ranks in precipitate retreat. On our left, in the front of the Tennesseans and Kentuckians, the greatest execution had been done. The slaughter here was appalling. Within a space three hundred yards wide, and extending out two hundred yards from our breastwork on the battlefield, an area of about ten acres, the ground was literally covered with the dead and desperately wounded. A British officer, who became also historian, says that under the temporary truce he rode forward to view this scene. Such a one he never witnessed elsewhere. There lay before him in this small compass not less than one thousand men, dead or disabled by wounds, all in the uniform of the British soldier; not one American among the number. The fatality to the English officers had been even greater on our left than on our right. Lord Pakenham, commander-in-chief, after the first repulse of the main column, with a courage as reckless as it was vain rode forward to rally his troops and lead them to a second attack in

person, and in the midst of a hail of missiles from cannon and small-arms fell mortally hurt with several wounds, and died within an hour. Major-general Gibbs, next in command, was stricken down a few minutes after, dying within a few hours. Others in high rank were carried down in the holocaust of casualties, until the British army became unnerved for the want of leadership in the hour of disaster and peril.

Adjutant-general Robert Butler, in his official report to General Jackson a few days after the battle of the eighth, placed the losses of the British at seven hundred killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred prisoners; twenty-six hundred men, or almost one third the entire number the enemy admitted to have taken part in the contest of the day. The loss of the Americans was six killed and seven wounded, thirteen in all. Instead of comment upon this remarkable disparity of losses, and the causes that led to such a signal victory for the Americans and such a humiliating defeat for our enemies, it will be more interesting to our readers to quote from English writers who were participants in the battle, and eye-witnesses of the scenes they describe with graphic pen. We are ever curious to know what others see and say of us, especially if they honestly criticize us with a spice of prejudice.

AN ENGLISH OFFICER'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

Gleig, in his "History of British Campaigns," says:

Dividing his troops into three columns, Sir Edward Pakenham directed that General Keene, at the head of the Ninety-fifth, the light companies of the Twenty-first, Fourth, and Forty-fourth Regiments, and the two black corps, should make a demonstration on the right; that General Gibbs, with the Fourth, Twenty-first, Forty-fourth, and Ninety-third, should force the enemy's left; while General Lambert, with the Seventh and Forty-third, remained in reserve. Our numbers now amounted to a little short of eight thousand, a force which, in any other part of America, would have been irresistible. The forces of the enemy were reported at twenty-three to thirty thousand. I suppose their whole force to have been twenty-five thousand. All things were arranged on the night of the 7th, for the 8th was fixed upon as the day decisive of the fate of New Orleans.

On the morning of the 8th, the entire army was in battle array. A little after daylight, General Pakenham gave the word to advance. The troops on the right and the left, having the Forty-fourth to follow with the fascines and ladders, rushed on to the assault. On the left, next to the river, a detachment of the Ninety-fifth, Twenty-first and Fourth, stormed a three-gun battery and took it. It was in advance of the main line of works. The enemy, in overpowering numbers, repulsed our attacking force and recaptured the battery *with immense slaughter*. On our right again, the Twenty-first and Fourth being almost cut to pieces, and thrown into

some confusion by the enemy's fire, the Ninety-third pushed up and took the lead. Hastening forward, our troops soon reached the ditch; but to scale the parapet without ladders was impossible. Some few indeed, by mounting upon each others' shoulders, succeeded in entering the works; but these were, most of them, instantly killed or captured. As many as stood without were exposed to a sweeping fire, which cut them down by whole companies. It was in vain that the most obstinate courage was displayed. They fell by the hands of men they could not see. The Americans, without lifting their faces above the rampart, swung their fire-locks over the wall and discharged them directly upon their heads.

Poor Pakenham saw how things were going, and did all that a general could do to rally his broken troops. He prepared to lead them on himself, when he received a slight wound in the knee, which killed his horse. Mounting another, he again headed the Forty-fourth, when a second ball took effect more fatally, and he dropped lifeless in the arms of his aid-de-camp. Bravely leading their divisions, Generals Gibbs and Keene were both wounded, and borne helpless from the field. All was now confusion and dismay. Without leaders, and ignorant of what was to be next done, the troops first halted, and then began to retire, till finally, the retreat was changed into a flight, and they quitted the ground in the utmost disorder. But the retreat was covered in gallant style by the reserve. The Seventh and Forty-third, under General Lambert, presented the appearance of a renewed attack, and the enemy, overawed, did not pursue.

On the granting of a two-days' truce for the burial of the dead, prompted by curiosity, I mounted my horse and rode

to the front. Of all the sights I ever witnessed, that which met me there was, beyond comparison, the most shocking and the most humiliating. Within the compass of a few hundred yards, were gathered together nearly a thousand bodies, all of them arrayed in British uniforms. Not a single American was among them; all were English. And they were thrown by dozens into shallow holes, scarcely deep enough to hide their bodies. Nor was this all. An American officer stood by smoking a cigar, and abruptly counting the slain with a look of savage exultation, repeating that their loss amounted only to eight killed and fourteen wounded. I confess that, when I beheld the scene, I hung down my head half in sorrow, and half in anger. With my officious informant, I had every inclination to pick a quarrel. But he was on duty, and an armistice existed, both of which forbade. I turned my horse's head and galloped back to the camp.

The changes of expression now visible in every countenance, no language can portray. Only twenty hours ago, and all was hope and animation; wherever you went, you were enlivened by the sounds of merriment and raillery. The expected attack was mentioned, not only in terms of sanguine hope, but in perfect confidence as to the result. Now gloom and discontent everywhere prevailed. Disappointment, grief, indignation and rage succeeded each other in all bosoms; nay, so were the troops overwhelmed by a sense of disgrace, that, for awhile they retained their sorrow without hinting at the cause. Nor was this dejection because of laurels tarnished, wholly. The loss of comrades was to the full, as afflicting as the loss of honor; for, out of more than seven thousand in action on this side, no fewer than two thousand had fallen.

Among these were two generals in chief command, and many officers of courage and ability. Hardly an individual survived who had not to mourn the loss of some special and boon companion.

BRITISH EXCUSES FOR DEFEAT.

Many causes for the failure of the campaign of invasion, and for the disastrous issue of the battle of the eighth, were conjectured in the English army. Almost universal blame was attributed to Colonel Mullins, of the Forty-fourth Regiment, which was detailed under orders to prepare and have ready, and to carry to the front on the morning of the eighth, fascines and ladders with which to cross the ditch and scale the parapet, as the soldiers fought their way to the breastwork of the Americans. It was freely charged that the Colonel deserted his trust and at the moment of need was half a mile to the rear. It was then that Pakenham, learning of Mullins' conduct, placed himself at the head of the Forty-fourth and endeavored to lead them to the front with the implements needed to storm the works, when he fell mortally wounded. Of this incident another British officer, Major B. E. Hill, writes:

Before sunset of the 7th, I was directed to carry instructions to Colonel Mullins, of the 44th, respecting the redoubt in which the fascines and scaling ladders were placed, and to report the result of my interview to Sir Edward Pakenham. I saw Colonel Mullins, and read to him the directions from

headquarters, begging to know if he thoroughly understood their purport? I was assured that nothing could be clearer. Reporting to Sir Edward, he thanked me for so completely satisfying him that the orders so important would be certainly and well executed.

Colonel Mullins may have been guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer, for which he was tried and cashiered in England; he probably saved his life at the expense of his honor, in being absent from his post on that day. But the British officers magnified the importance of the presence of himself and his regiment with their fascines and ladders ready for use. Even with the help of these devices, there were not men enough in the English army to have crossed the ditch, climbed the parapet, and made a breach in the breastwork line of the Americans. Some of them might have reached the ditch alive, as did some of their comrades, but like those comrades they would have died in the ditch or been made prisoners. The Americans, too, could have used the bayonet as well as the British, if necessary.

BATTLE OF THE EIGHTH OF JANUARY ON THE WEST BANK OF THE RIVER.

We have mentioned that after the night battle of the twenty-third of December General Jackson ordered General Morgan to move his command of Louisiana troops

from English Turn, seven miles below the British camp at Villere's, and to take a position on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite to the American camp. Very naturally, the possibility, and even the probability, of the enemy, when his army was made formidable by all the reinforcements coming up, throwing a heavy flanking force across the river, marching it to a point opposite New Orleans and forcing a surrender of the city, suggested itself to the military eye of Jackson. After the latter entrenched at Rodrique Canal, by the first of January, there was no other strategical route by which the British could have successfully assailed the city. The importance of this seems to have been fully comprehended neither by the one combatant nor the other until too late to fully remedy the omission.

Just such a flanking movement was undertaken by the English at the latest day, which brought on a second battle on the eighth, on the right bank of the river, resulting in a defeat to the American forces, and well-nigh ending in disaster to the American cause. It is in evidence that this strategic movement was the result of a council of war held by the British officers, at which Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane was present. This idea of reaching the city by a heavy detachment thrown across the river and marching up to a point opposite, in cannon

reach, had occurred before; but the difficulty was in finding a way to cross over the troops and artillery, with the Americans in command of the means of transportation. The suggestion came from Admiral Cochrane that the Villere Canal from the bayou could be easily deepened and widened to the river bank and opened into the river for the passage of the boats and barges from the fleet, and a sufficient force thrown across the river in that way under cover of night. This seemed feasible, and the strategy determined on. It is related further that Lord Pakenham insisted that the main attack upon the city for its capture should be made by a heavy detachment in this direction, and at the same time only a demonstration in force made on the American breastworks with the whole army, supported by the artillery. He urged that to directly assault the fortified line in front would be at a fearful loss of life, if successful; if it failed it would be disastrous. The Admiral replied to this tauntingly, that there was no cause for alarm over anticipated defeat; he would undertake to force the lines of the American militia with two or three thousand marines. In allusion to this, Latour says: "If the British commander-in-chief was so unmindful of what he owed to his country, and to the army committed to his charge, as to yield to the ill-judged and rash advice of the Admiral, he sacri-

ficed reason in a moment of irritation; though he atoned with his life for having acted contrary to his own judgment." Undoubtedly the English made their last and most fatal blunder here.

As the English writers who were with the army have so variously minimized the forces under Colonel Thornton, and so exaggerated the numbers of the Americans in this affair on the west bank, we quote from the official report of Major-general Lambert, who succeeded to the immediate command of the invading army after the fall of Generals Pakenham, Gibbs, and Keene, what appears to be reliable:

To Lord Bathurst:

JANUARY 10th, 1815.

It becomes my duty to lay before your Lordship the proceedings of the force lately employed on the right bank of the Mississippi River. Preparations had been made on our side to clear out and widen the canal that led from the bayou to the river, by which our boats had been brought up to the point of disembarkation, and to open it to the Mississippi, by which our troops could be got over to the right bank, and the coöperation of armed boats be secured. A corps consisting of the 85th light infantry, two hundred seamen, four hundred marines, the 5th West India Regiment, and four pieces of artillery, under the command of Colonel Thornton, of the 85th, were to pass over during the night, and move along the right bank toward New Orleans, clearing its front, until it reached the flanking battery of the enemy on that side, which it had orders to carry.

Unlooked for difficulties caused delay in the entrance of the armed boats from the canal into the river, destined to land Colonel Thornton's corps, by which several hours' delay was caused. The ensemble of the general movement was lost, a point of the last importance to the main attack on the left bank, although Colonel Thornton ably executed his instructions.

MAJ.-GEN. LAMBERT, *Com'd'g.*

The two regiments above, with the seamen and marines, if all were present, would have given Colonel Thornton a command of nearly two thousand men. But it is said that in consequence of some difficulties in getting the boats through the canal into the river, and delay consequent thereon, a part of the forces were left behind. From the best authorities, there were twelve hundred British troops landed upon the west bank of the river on the morning of the eighth, by daybreak—all except the West India regiment.

DEFENSIVE WORKS AND FORCES ON THE WEST BANK,
OPPOSITE JACKSON'S CAMP.

General Morgan, commanding the Louisiana militia, was in position on Raquet's old canal site, next to the river. Major Latour, chief of the engineer corps, had been instructed by General Jackson, a week or two before the battle, to proceed across the river and to select on that

side a suitable line for defensive works for General Morgan, in case the enemy should attempt a flanking movement on the right bank. Of this mission, Major Latour writes:

Agreeable to orders, I waited on General Morgan, and in the presence of Commodore Patterson communicated to him my orders, and told him I was at his disposal. The General seemed not to come to a conclusion, but inclined to make choice of Raquet's line. He then desired that I inspect the different situations myself, and make my report to him. My orders were to assist him, and my opinion was subordinate to his.

I chose for the intended line of defense an intermediate position, nearly at equal distances from Raquet's and Jourdan's canal, where the wood inclines to the river, leaving a space of only about nine hundred yards between the swampy wood and the river. Works occupying this space could not well be turned, without a siege and assault in heavy force by the enemy. I made a rough draft of the intended line, and immediately the overseer set his negroes to execute the work. Returning to the left bank, I made my report to the Commander-in-chief, who approved the disposition made. One thousand men could have guarded a breastwork line here, and half that number would have been sufficient had pieces of cannon been mounted in the intended outworks. That line, defended by the eight hundred troops and the artillery of General Morgan's command, on the 8th, could have defied three or four times the number of British who crossed over to the right bank that day. But these dispositions had been changed by General Morgan, and the negroes ordered to work on the Raquet line.

Major Latour had selected for General Jackson his line of defense on the left bank of the river, and had directed the construction of the breastwork and redoubts to the entire satisfaction of the General. He objected to the Raquet line favored by General Morgan, as wholly unsuited for defense. The space here from the river to the wood swamp was two thousand yards, or considerably over one mile, a much longer line than Jackson's on the other side. To be effective against an attacking force, the entrenchment and outworks must be extended to cover the entire space. It would require then more than double the number of troops and of pieces of artillery for defense than the situation selected by Latour.

In determining on this change of the line of defense, contrary to the judgment and warning of the chief of the engineer corps, General Morgan seems to have been influenced by one consideration paramount to all others. He was in daily council with Commodore Patterson, and was assured of the powerful aid of his battery on the right bank, which had done such execution in the ranks of the British across the river. Should the enemy attack General Morgan's position at Raquet's line, the Commodore could turn his twelve pieces of cannon in their embrasures, sweep the field, and drive back any reason-

able force in range. With this support of his artillery, the few hundred militia of Morgan's command could more successfully repulse an attack at Raquet's line than at the line selected by Latour farther away. This change in the situation and plan of defense is characterized by Latour and other authorities as an unmilitary proceeding, as it abandoned the idea of a fortified line behind which a successful defense could have been made probable, if not certain, for an almost open field subject to the flanking movement of veteran troops against raw militia, with no auxiliary support except a park of artillery with guns turned another way, and of most doubtful use in case of need. General Morgan must not share alone the criticism which has been so freely made of his disposition of forces and changes of strategic plans which resulted in sensational disaster to his command. Commodore Patterson, experienced in military affairs as well as naval, advised with him, and must have approved. This change of line, made some days before the eighth, must have been known, and on the representations of Morgan and Patterson, approved by General Jackson. It is not conceivable that so important a change of plans would have been made by a subordinate officer, affecting seriously the safety of New Orleans, without the consent of the commander-in-chief. The latter seemed always

to have held in very high personal esteem these two officers, and to have had confidence in their abilities as commanders.

As mentioned above, the dispositions made for a line of defense by Major Latour were changed by General Morgan, and the negroes set to work on Raquet's line. A breastwork fortification was thrown up by the seventh of January, extending but two hundred yards from the river bank out on the site of the old canal. From this terminus across the plantation land to the wooded swamp was an open plain, with scarce an obstruction to the deploy of troops or the sweep of artillery. The old canal had long been in disuse, and the ditch was filled nearly full with the washings and deposits of years. Behind this two hundred yards of entrenchment General Morgan massed all the Louisiana troops of his command and planted his artillery, three pieces in all. From the end of the breastwork on the right, one mile or eighteen hundred yards to the swamp, there were no defensive works from behind which to repulse the assault of an enemy, nor any means of resistance in sight to an attack, other than the guns in battery of Commodore Patterson, of more than doubtful use, and the yet very doubtful contingent of reinforcements sufficient from General Jackson's limited supply of men and arms.

On the seventh, the forces of Morgan's immediate command were the First Louisiana Militia on the left, next to the river; on the right of these, the Second Louisiana; and on the right of the latter, the drafted Louisiana militia, in all about five hundred men, who occupied the fortified line of two hundred yards. It was not until late this day that General Jackson seemed to fully awaken to the impending dangers of this formidable flanking movement across the river. He at once gave orders that five hundred of the unarmed Kentucky militia in camp should be marched up the river to New Orleans and receive certain arms in store there; then cross the river, and march down five miles on the west bank and reinforce General Morgan's command by, or before, daylight next morning. It was late afternoon when they started on this tramp of ten miles, through mud and mire ankle deep. Arriving at New Orleans, it was found that four hundred stand of arms which were expected to be obtained from the city armory had been loaned to General Adair, and sent to him at the Kentucky camp for other use. From other sources some miscellaneous old guns were obtained to equip less than two hundred of the detailed Kentuckians, who crossed the river, began their weary night march, and reported to General Morgan before daylight of the eighth, ready

for duty, though they had not slept for twenty-four hours, nor eaten anything since noon of the previous day. Their arms, a mongrel lot, were many of them unfit for combat; old muskets and hunting-pieces, some without flints, and others too small-bored for the cartridges.

THE BRITISH CROSS THE RIVER AND LAND AT DAYBREAK;
THEY BEGIN THE ATTACK—THE BATTLE
AND RETREAT.

About sunset on the evening of the seventh, General Morgan was notified of the intention of the enemy to cross the river by Commodore Patterson, who had closely observed his movements in the afternoon. Before day-dawn on the eighth, the General received information of the enemy landing on the west bank, at Andry's plantation. The rapid current of the Mississippi had carried his little flotilla three miles below the point he had desired to land. Having debarked his troops, he marched up the river; his boats, manned by four pieces of artillery, keeping abreast and covering his flank. A detachment of Louisiana militia, about one hundred and fifty men, under command of Major Arnaud, had been sent in the night a mile or two down the river to oppose the landing and to check the advance of the British. These raw militia, very poorly armed, retired before the enemy.

The detachment of one hundred and seventy Kentuckians just arrived, under command of Colonel Davis, was ordered to move forward to the support of the command of Major Arnaud. Though wearied with the toilsome all-night march, the Kentucky troops went forward about one mile below Morgan's line and took position on Mayhew's Canal, their left resting on the bank of the river. Major Arnaud halted his Louisiana militia on the right of these in line. The enemy, over one thousand strong, came up in force under Colonel Thornton, who commanded the British in the night battle of the twenty-third. A heavy fire of musketry from the front was supported by a flanking fire of artillery and rockets from the boats. The command of Major Arnaud gave way and hastily retreated to the wood, appearing no more during the day on the field of action. The Kentuckians returned the fire of the enemy with several effective volleys, when they were ordered by an aid-de-camp of General Morgan's, just arrived, to fall back and take a position on his line of defense.

The falling back of the Kentuckians before the enemy was under orders which they could not but obey. They were holding him in check and inflicting heavier losses than they were receiving, against four or five times their own numbers. They fell back one mile in good order.

By disposition of the commanding officer, they were placed in line, with an open space of two hundred yards between their extreme left and the extreme right of the entrenched Louisianians, and stretched out to cover a space of three hundred yards, or one man to nearly two yards of space. The remainder of the line stretching to the wood on the extreme right, twelve hundred yards, was wholly without defensive works, or any defense excepting a picket of eighteen men under Colonel Caldwell, stationed out two hundred yards beyond the extreme right of the Kentuckians. Less than two hundred poorly armed militia were thus isolated and distributed in thin ranks to defend a line one mile in length, while General Morgan lay behind his entrenchment, defending a space of two hundred yards with five hundred troops and three pieces of artillery, which could have been easily held by two hundred men.

Colonel Thornton, in command of the British troops, in advancing to the attack, readily perceived with his trained military eye the vulnerable situation of the American forces. Gleig, the English author present, gives the disposition of the enemy's assaulting columns as follows: The Eighty-fifth, Colonel Thornton's own regiment, about seven hundred men, stretched across the field, covering our front, with the sailors, two hundred in

number, prepared to storm the battery and works; while the marines formed a reserve, protecting the fleet of barges. It is not probable that the attack upon the entrenchments next to the river was intended to be more than a demonstration in force to hold the attention of General Morgan and his command there, while the main assault was being directed with the Eighty-fifth Regiment against the thin and unsupported line of the Kentucky militia, with a view of flanking these and getting in the rear of General Morgan's breastworks.

We quote from Major Latour's "Historical Memoir" a further account:

Thé enemy advancing rapidly by the road opposite the left of the line, the artillery played on him with effect; and as he came nearer, the musketry began to fire also. This having obliged him to fall back, he next directed his attack against the detached Kentuckians on our right, one column moving toward the wood and the other toward the centre of the line. Now was felt the effect of the bad position that we occupied. One of the enemy's columns turned our troops at the extremity of Colonel Davis' command, while the other penetrated into the unguarded space between the Kentuckians and the breastwork of the Louisianians. Flanked at both extremes by four times their own number, and unsupported, the Kentucky militia, after firing several volleys, gave way; nor was it possible again to rally them. Confidence had vanished, and with it all spirit of resistance. If instead of extending over so much

space, those troops had been formed in close column, the confusion that took place might have been avoided, and a retreat in good order made.

The enemy having turned our right, pushed on towards the rear of our left, which continued firing as long as possible. At length the cannon were spiked just as the enemy arrived on the bank of the canal. Commodore Patterson had kept up an artillery fire on the British over the river. As they advanced up the road, he would now have turned his cannon in their embrasures, and fired on those of the enemy who had turned our line and come in range. But the Kentucky troops and the Louisianians masked the guns, and made it impossible to fire without killing our own men. Seeing this, he determined to spike his guns and retreat.

The Louisiana militia under General Morgan now fell back and took a position on the Bois Gervais line, where a number of the fleeing troops rallied. A small detachment of the enemy advanced as far as Cazeldars, but retired before evening. In the course of the night all the enemy's troops recrossed the river, to join their main body. The result of this attack of the enemy on the right bank was, the loss of one hundred and twenty of his men, killed and wounded. The commander-in-chief, receiving intelligence of the retreat of our troops on the right bank, ordered General Humbert, formerly of the French army, who had tendered his services as a volunteer, to cross over with a reinforcement of four hundred men, assume command, and repulse the enemy, cost what it might. The order was verbal; some dispute having arisen over the question of military precedence, and the enemy withdrawing, no further steps were taken.

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“THE KENTUCKIANS INGLORIOUSLY FLED”—A PROFOUND
SENSATION.

In this historic review, we dwell exhaustively upon the episode of this battle on the west bank, on the 8th of January, 1815, not because of any intrinsic importance of the subject, but rather from the sensational incidents which attended the movements of the belligerents, and which were consequent upon the issue. The galling words of General Jackson, hastily and unguardedly uttered in an attempt to throw the blame of defeat upon a small detachment of Kentucky militia, “the Kentuckians ingloriously fled,” were resented as an undeserved stigma upon the honor and good name of all the Kentuckians in the army, and upon the State of Kentucky herself. The epigrammatic phrase, construed to mean more than was intended, perhaps, like Burchard’s “Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion,” struck a chord of sympathetic emotion that vibrated not only in the army and the community of Louisiana, but throughout the entire country. These burning words are of record in the archives at Washington, and remembered in history; but the facts in full, which vindicate the truth and render justice to whom it is due, are known to but few, if known to any now living. In the words of Latour: “What took place

on the right bank had made so much sensation in the immediate seat of war, and had been so variously reported abroad, to the disparagement of many brave men, that I thought it a duty incumbent on me to inquire into particulars and trace the effect to its cause."

Rather than give our own impressions, we quote from "Reid and Eaton's Life of Jackson" an account of this affair, interesting because written when the subject was yet fresh in the public mind, and from the intimacy of the authors with the personal and public life of General Jackson:

On the night of the 7th, two hundred Louisiana militia were sent one mile down the river, to watch the movements of the enemy. They slept upon their arms until, just at day, an alarm was given of the approach of the British. They at once fell back towards General Morgan's line. The Kentucky detachment of one hundred and seventy men, having arrived at five in the morning, after a toilsome all-night march, were sent forward to coöperate with the Louisiana militia, whom Major Davis met retreating up the road. They now formed behind a mill-race near the river. Here a stand was made, and the British advance checked by several effective volleys. General Morgan's aid-de-camp being present, now ordered a retreat back to the main line of defense, which was made in good order. In the panic and disorderly retreat afterwards are to be found incidents of justification, which might have occasioned similar conduct in the most disciplined troops.

The weakest part of the line was assailed by the greatest strength of the enemy. This was defended by one hundred and seventy Kentuckians, who were stretched out to an extent of three hundred yards, unsupported by artillery. Openly exposed to the attack of a greatly superior force, and weakened by the extent of ground they covered, it is not deserving reproach that they abandoned a post they had strong reasons for believing they could not maintain. General Morgan reported to General Jackson the misfortune of defeat he had met, and attributed it to the flight of these troops, who had drawn along with them the rest of his forces. True, they were the first to flee; and their example may have had some effect in alarming others. But, in situation, the troops differed. The one were exposed and enfeebled by the manner of their arrangement; the other, much superior in numbers, covered a less extent of ground, were defended by an excellent breastwork manned by several pieces of artillery; and with this difference,—the loss of confidence of the former was not without cause. Of these facts, Commodore Patterson was not apprised; General Morgan was. Both reported that the disaster was owing to the flight of the Kentucky militia. Upon this information, General Jackson founded his report to the Secretary of War, by which these troops were exposed to censures they did not merit. Had all the circumstances as they existed, been disclosed, reproach would have been prevented. At the mill-race no troops could have behaved better; they bravely resisted the advance of the enemy. Until an order to that effect was given, they entertained no thought of retreating.

Intelligence quickly came to General Jackson of the defeat and rout of General Morgan's command, imperiling the safety of the city of New Orleans, in the midst of the congratulations over the great victory of the main army on the east bank. Naturally, a state of intense excitement followed, bordering on consternation for a few hours. When the danger was ended by the withdrawal of the British forces to recross the river, the report of General Morgan, followed by that of Commodore Patterson, came to headquarters, laying the blame of defeat and disaster to the alleged cowardly retreat of the Kentucky militia. With General Jackson's great personal regard for the authors of these reports, he took for granted the correctness of the charge of censurable conduct. Amid the tumult of emotions that must have been felt, rapidly succeeding the changes of scenes and incidents and issues of strategy and battle during that eventful twenty-four hours, the great commander yielded to the impulse of the moment to write in his official report to the Secretary of War, on the ninth, the day succeeding the battles, the following words:

Simultaneously with his advance upon my lines, the enemy had thrown over in his boats a considerable force to the other side of the river. These having landed, were hardly enough to advance against the works of General Morgan; and what is

strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to certainty, the Kentucky reinforcement, in whom so much reliance had been placed, ingloriously fled, drawing after them by their example the remainder of the forces, and thus yielding to the enemy that most formidable position. The batteries which had rendered me, for many days, the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned; not, however, until the guns had been spiked.

Commodore Patterson also sent in a report to the Secretary of the Navy, characterizing the little detachment of Kentucky militia in terms as censurable and as unjust as were the words of General Jackson. When these official reports became publicly known, imputing all blame of disaster to the retreat of the Kentuckians, an indignant protest was entered by General Adair and by the entire Kentucky contingent of the army. In this protest they had the sympathy and support of a large portion of other troops of the army, and of the community. Language at this late day of forgetfulness and calmer reason would be too tame to really portray the irritations, the bitter recriminations, and the angry protests which agitated army circles, and the civil community as well, and which were echoed from many parts of the country at large.

A COURT OF INQUIRY APPOINTED BY THE COMMANDER-
IN-CHIEF EXONERATES THE KENTUCKIANS.

General Adair, supported by the officers of his command, insisted that the statements made in these reports to the departments at Washington were made upon a misapprehension of the facts, and that great injustice had been done the Kentucky militia in General Morgan's command by attempting to shift the responsibility of defeat from its real sources, and placing it to their discredit. A military court of inquiry was demanded, and granted by the commander-in-chief, the members of which were officers of rank in the army, and disinterested by their relations in the findings, and General Carroll, of Tennessee, appointed to preside. The following notice was served on General Morgan, and similar notices on other officers concerned:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., February 9, 1815.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORGAN.

Sir: A Court of Inquiry is now in session for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the officers under your command, on the morning of the 8th of January. As you are somewhat concerned, I have to request that you will introduce such witnesses on to-morrow as you may think necessary. The conduct of Colonel Cavalier, and of Majors Tesla and Arnaud, is yet to be inquired into.

Your Most Obt. Servant,

WM. CARROLL, Maj.-Gen'l,

Prest. of Court.

The following opinion was rendered:

REPORT OF THE COURT OF INQUIRY.

HEADQUARTERS 7TH MILITARY DISTRICT.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., February 19, 1815.

GENERAL ORDERS.

At a Court of Inquiry, convened at this place on the 9th inst., of which Major-general Carroll is President, the military conduct of Colonel Davis, of Kentucky Militia, and of Colonels Dijon and Cavalier, of Louisiana Militia, in the engagement on the 8th of January last, on the west bank of the Mississippi, were investigated; the Court, after mature deliberation, is of opinion that the conduct of those gentlemen in the action aforesaid, and retreat on the 8th of January, on the western bank of the river, is not reprehensible. The cause of the retreat the Court attributes to the shameful flight of the command of Major Arnaud, sent to oppose the landing of the enemy. The retreat of the Kentucky militia, which, considering their position, the deficiency of their arms, and other causes, may be excusable; and the panic and confusion introduced into every part of the line, thereby occasioning the retreat and confusion of the Orleans and Louisiana militia. While the Court found much to applaud in the zeal and gallantry of the officer immediately commanding, they believe that a further reason for the retreat may be found in the manner in which the force was placed on the line; which they consider exceptionable. The commands of Colonels Dijon,

Cavalier, and Declouet, composing five hundred men, supported by three pieces of artillery, having in front a strong breastwork, occupying a space of only two hundred yards; whilst the Kentucky militia, composing Colonel Davis' command, only one hundred and seventy strong, occupied over three hundred yards, covered by a small ditch only.

The Major-general approves the proceeding of the Court of Inquiry, which is hereby dissolved.

By Command.

H. CHOTARD, *Asst. Adj. Gen.*

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN JACKSON AND ADAIR.

General Adair seems to have regarded the decision of the Court of Inquiry as a modifying compromise, in deference to the high personal character and influence of a number of persons concerned, and not the full vindication of the Kentucky militia from the imputations of ungallant conduct on the field reflected upon them in the official reports. The controversy, and other causes preceding it, had rankled the bosoms of both General Jackson and himself, and estranged the warm friendship that had before existed between them. Adair thought that Jackson should withdraw, or modify, the language of his official report. General Jackson was not a man to readily retract; and was certainly not in the humor with Adair to retract anything he had said. He would do

no more than approve the opinion of the Court of Inquiry. This, perhaps, was as much as General Adair should have asked at the time.

On the 10th of February, 1816, the Legislature of Kentucky, in a resolution of thanks to General Adair for gallant services at New Orleans, added: "And for his spirited vindication of a respectable portion of the troops of Kentucky from the libelous imputation of cowardice most unjustly thrown upon them by General Andrew Jackson." This and other incidents intensified the animosity of feeling.

It was some two years after the close of hostilities that the correspondence between Jackson and Adair was terminated in language and spirit so intensely bitter as to make the issue personal. Adair had reported all proceedings and facts concerning the Kentucky troops during the campaign to Governor Shelby, who had taken a very active part in sending all possible aid for the defense of New Orleans. In these reports he reflected on what he deemed the injustice done the Kentucky troops in several official publications; especially by General Jackson, not only in the affair of Morgan's rout, but in his report of other operations during the campaign. These were causes of irritation on the part of the commander-in-chief. The burning words in the reports of General



JOHN ADAIR,
Eighth Governor of Kentucky.

Jackson, General Morgan, and Commodore Patterson, impugning cowardice to a few of their comrades, had touched a sensitive chord and sunk deep into the hearts of the Kentucky troops in the army. In their resentments, expressed in words and sometimes in actions, all danger from the enemy being over, they were perhaps not always so orderly as soldiers should be while in camp, or on scout or picket service.

In the closing correspondence, the language used by both Jackson and Adair became exceedingly bitter; that of the former beyond all restraint toward his respondent. The issue of this controversy, tradition says, was a challenge to meet upon the field of honor, then so called, and to settle it at the pistol's point. The challenge was accepted. By whom it was sent, the author has not been able to learn. In the absence of any record, written or in print, of this affair, he has to rely upon oral recitals which have come down through members of the Adair family in Kentucky, and are remembered in the main facts to-day. The would-be combatants met by appointment at a spot selected on the border line of their respective States, accompanied each by his second, his surgeon, and a few invited friends. The unfriendly breach between Jackson and Adair, and its possible tragic issue, seems to have given deep concern to some of their friends.

There was no other cause of enmity between them save what grew out of the unfortunate occurrences at New Orleans. They were of the same political party—Jeffersonian Republicans, as they were known then, in distinction from Federalists. Jackson had won renown and prestige as no other in America, and his name had already been mentioned in connection with the highest office within the gift of the people. Adair was held in high esteem by the people of Kentucky, and bright hopes of political preferment were held out by his party friends. Other considerations added, induced friends on either side to urge a reconciliation, which was happily effected on terms mutually satisfactory. The above account of this meeting on the field of honor was related to the author by General D. L. Adair, of Hawesville, Kentucky, now long past his fourscore years. He gave the facts to the writer, he said, as he received them from his father, Doctor Adair, of Hardin County, Kentucky, many years ago. Doctor Adair was a cousin of General Adair, of Jackson's army, and was one of the intimate friends whom the General invited to be present upon the ground.

The correspondence of Jackson and Adair throws light upon the subject of this controversy, and reveals to us some of the causes of the errors and contentions of

this affair. We have mentioned that Adair, in his eagerness to arm as many as possible of the Kentucky militia and place them in line for the main battle of the eighth, went into the city and plead with the Committee of Safety to loan him four hundred stand of arms, held in the city armory for the protection of New Orleans, for a few days. This urgent request was granted, and the arms privately moved out, hauled to the camp of the Kentuckians, and delivered there about nightfall of the seventh. Four hundred more of the Kentuckians were thus armed and moved up to the rear of the breastwork, ready for the battle next morning. Adair believed that he was acting in the line of his duty, and that Jackson would approve of his device for arming more of his idle men in camp. Busy as he was that day in New Orleans, and in equipping and marshaling the men of his command for battle, he was not made aware of the urgent need of reinforcements on the opposite bank of the river, nor did he know of the purpose of the commander-in-chief to arm these from the city armory. While Adair's device very much strengthened Jackson's line on the left bank, it unfortunately defeated Jackson's plan of sending four hundred more men to reinforce General Morgan on the right bank, and may in this way have largely contributed to the latter's defeat.

When Jackson, late on the seventh, ordered a detail of five hundred of the Kentucky militia to be marched at once to New Orleans, there to be armed, to cross the river and report by daylight to General Morgan, he expected to use the arms from the city armory. There was no other supply.

We may readily imagine the feeling of disappointed chagrin and passion that stirred to its depths the strong nature of Jackson, when the intelligence quickly came to him across the river of the disaster to Morgan's command, and of its retreat toward New Orleans, followed by the enemy. It was in this tumult of passion and excitement that the report of Morgan, followed by that of Patterson, was brought to him, imputing the cause of defeat and disaster to the cowardly retreat of the Kentucky detachment. Under the promptings of these incidents of the day, Jackson's report to the Secretary of War was made, in which the words of censure were so unjustly employed. Jackson must have informed Morgan on the evening of the seventh that he would reinforce him with five hundred armed soldiers. When Colonel Davis reported to Morgan, one hour before daylight, the arrival of the Kentucky contingent, the latter was expecting five hundred men to reinforce him. Had this been done, the Kentucky troops and Major Arnaud's

one hundred and fifty Louisianians would have made the forces sent to the front to check the advance of the British under Colonel Thornton over six hundred men. Such a force, well officered, would probably have held the enemy in check, fallen back in good order, and made a stubborn fight on the line of battle. But there was only one third the Kentucky force expected; and when Major Arnaud's command retreated, there was but this contingent of one hundred and seventy Kentucky militia left to resist the advance of one thousand British veterans, and to meet their main assault on the center and right of the long line of battle. It made its march from New Orleans at midnight, and was reported to General Morgan before daybreak. These facts give a more intelligible view of the plan of battle arranged by this officer. It was undoubtedly marred and broken up by the unforeseen incidents mentioned, unfortunately for General Morgan and for the American cause. Commodore Patterson, in his report to the Secretary of the Navy, five days after the battle, makes the force of Kentucky militia that gave way before the British four hundred men, more than double the real number; thus showing the error prevalent.

When the facts came out that General Adair had secured the four hundred stand of city arms for his own

immediate command with which Jackson had designed to arm the reinforcement for General Morgan, the incident was naturally very irritating to the Commander-in-chief. It was imputed as a cause, in part, of the defeat and disaster on the right bank. Jackson seems to have complained to Adair that the latter ought to have known of his order to call out the detachment of five hundred Kentuckians in time, and of his intention to arm them in the city. Adair replied that the order came to General Thomas, in chief command of the Kentuckians, lying ill in camp, while he was busily engaged in New Orleans and at the front, preparing his own command for battle next day; that he did not know of the intention of Jackson to use the city arms until too late to repair the mistake. It made up a chapter of accidents and errors, happening with best intentions. As for the little body of Kentucky militia, who were made sensationally notorious, where there was honor and fame for no one, poorly armed and wearied with fasting and a heavy all-night march, they did as well as troops could do. It is doubtful if any one hundred and seventy troops in Jackson's army would have done better. Unsupported, and attacked and flanked by four times their own number, no troops could have held their ground longer.

In the possession of Judge William H. Seymour, of New Orleans, is an original letter of Major Latour, addressed to General Morgan in anticipation of the publication of his "Historical Memoirs of the War of 1812-15," advising him that he would give an account also of the military situation and battle on the west bank, as he viewed them; and inviting any statement from General Morgan in his own vindication that he might choose to make. This letter is not printed in the history, but was seen and copied by the author, through the courtesy of Judge Seymour, who is a lineal descendant of a sister of Andrew Jackson. A diligent inquiry was made by the writer of this monograph for a copy of General Morgan's report, and also of letters or documents from him in vindication of his course in the affairs mentioned. If any such are in print, or otherwise preserved, the author did not succeed in finding them, to his regret.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., April, 1815.

TO GENERAL DAVID MORGAN.

Sir: I send you herewith a copy of the publication that I am preparing for the press, upon the last campaign, relating to the transaction that took place on the right bank, on the 8th of January.

As I am of opinion that you are to bear the blame of our disgrace on that part of our defense, I thought myself in duty

bound, as a man of honor, to participate to you what I wrote on the subject previous to my putting it to the press. What I have stated is, I believe, strictly true; however, sir, you are in a situation to furnish me with such observations as may tend to rectify what should not be printed, in its true light.

Be persuaded, sir, that I have no enmity against you; on the contrary, as a private citizen, I have the regard for you that I think you deserve. Then I hope you will not take my conscientious caution in a bad part, and that you will direct to me in Philadelphia, where I am departing for in a day or two, anything you will choose to write for your vindication. It will find room in the appendix, at all events, should it be founded upon proper authorities.

I remain, sir, your most respectful servant,

A. LACARRIERE LATOUR.

Incidental prominence has been given to this episode of the battle of the eighth, on the west bank of the river, far beyond its real merits as an event of the military operations around New Orleans. Worse panic and confusion resulted among the American militia at Bladensburg, in front of Washington, and at other places, during the War of 1812-15, and passed into history without unusual criticism, as incidents common to warfare. But the injustice done to the little band of Kentucky militia, imputing to them cowardly conduct, on the part of some of the highest officials of the army, aroused a spirit of

indignant protest that echoed far and wide, and would not down. Had it not been for the misleading report of General Morgan, followed by that of Commodore Patterson, and prompting that of General Jackson to the Secretary of War, saying that "the Kentuckians ingloriously fled," and imputing blame to no other party, the incident of the battle and defeat would have been mentioned and passed without comment.

THE COVERT RETREAT OF THE BRITISH.

The battles of the eighth were decisive of the campaign, and of the War of 1812-15, so far as military operations were concerned. The British had been beaten in generalship and beaten upon the field of battle, until they were made to feel and to confess to defeat so crushing as to leave no hope of retrieving disaster. Within fifteen days after landing, they had sustained losses equal to one third of their entire army of invasion. With prestige gone and spirit broken, and their ranks shattered, there was but one thing left to do. To cover their retreat and get safely back to their ships before the broken remnants of their army were made to capitulate by surrender became a matter of gravest concern. The situation is set forth in the following official letter to the Secretary of War:

CAMP BELOW NEW ORLEANS, January 19, 1815.

Sir: Last night, at 12 o'clock, the enemy precipitately decamped and returned to his boats, leaving behind him, under medical attendance, eighty of his wounded, fourteen pieces of heavy artillery, and a quantity of ammunition. Such was the situation of the ground he abandoned, and that through which he retired, protected by canals, redoubts, intrenchments, and swamps on his right and the river on his left, that I could not, without great risk, which true policy did not seem to require, much annoy him on his retreat.

Whether it is the purpose of the enemy to renew his efforts at some other point, or not, I can not certainly determine. In my own mind, however, there is little doubt that his last exertions have been made in this quarter, at least for the present season. In this belief I am strengthened by the prodigious losses he has sustained at the position he has just quitted, and by the failure of his fleet to pass Fort St. Philip. His loss on this ground, since the debarkation of his troops, as stated by the last prisoners and deserters, and as confirmed by many additional circumstances, must have exceeded four thousand men. We succeeded on the 8th, in getting from the enemy about one thousand stand of arms of various kinds.

Since the action of the 8th, the enemy have been allowed but very little respite, my artillery from both sides of the river being constantly employed until the hour of their departure, in annoying them. They were permitted to find no rest.

I am advised by Major Overton, who commands at Fort St. Philip, in a letter of the 18th, that the enemy having bombarded his fort for nine days, with thirteen-inch mortars, with-

out effect, had on the morning of that day retired. I have little doubt that he would have sunk their vessels had they attempted to run by.

Do not think me too sanguine in the belief that Louisiana is now clear of the enemy. I need not assure you, however, that wherever I command, such a belief shall never occasion any relaxation in the measures for resistance. I am but too sensible that while the enemy is opposing us, is not the most proper time to provide for them. On the 18th, our prisoners on shore were delivered to us, an exchange having been agreed to. I shall have on hand an excess of several hundred.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ANDREW JACKSON,
Commander-in-Chief.

The losses to the American army, in the five battles fought from the twenty-third of December to the eighth of January, inclusive, are summarized in the report of the Adjutant-general, which we give:

CAMP BELOW NEW ORLEANS, Jan'y 16, 1815.

Sir: I enclose for the information of the War Department, a report of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the army under Major-general Jackson, in the different actions with the enemy since their landing.

ROB'T BUTLER,
Adjutant-General.

BATTLE.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.	MISSING.
December 23d	24	115	74
December 28th	9	8	None.
January 1st	11	23	None.
January 8th	13	39	19
	57	185	93

A total of three hundred and thirty-five men. This includes the killed, wounded, and missing in the two battles on the eighth.

Our English authorities are so marked with exaggerations and discrepancies as to numbers in either army, and also as to losses and casualties, that they are unreliable. There is with nearly all their writers, and in the reports of their officers, a disposition to minimize numbers on their own side, and to overstate those on the side of the Americans. This was no doubt due to a sense of mortified pride and deep chagrin over their repeated defeats and final expulsion from the country, under humiliations such as English armies and navies had rarely before known in history. General Jackson was not far wrong in estimating the entire losses of the British, during the two weeks of invasion, at more than four thousand men. If the large number who deserted from their ranks after the battles of the eighth of January be included, the excess would doubtless swell the numbers much above four thousand. Their killed, wounded, and missing on the eighth approximated three thousand. So decimated and broken up were their columns that they dared not risk another battle.

REPULSE OF THE BRITISH FLEET BEFORE FORT ST. PHILIP.

On the first of January, Major W. H. Overton, in command of Fort St. Philip, which guards the passage of the Mississippi River from its mouth for the protection of New Orleans, received information that the enemy intended to capture or pass the fort, to coöperate with their land forces threatening the city. On the seventh, a fleet of two bomb-vessels, one sloop, one brig, and one schooner appeared and anchored below the fortification and began an attack. For nine days they continued a heavy bombardment from four large sea-mortars and other ordnance, but without the effect they desired. Making but little impression toward destroying the fort, and fearing to risk an attempt finally to pass our batteries, the fleet withdrew on the morning of the eighteenth, and passed again into the Gulf. Our loss in this affair was but two killed and seven wounded. During the nine days of attack the enemy threw more than one thousand bombs from four ten- and thirteen-inch mortars, besides many shells and round shot from howitzers and cannon.

AN ENGLISH SOLDIER'S VIEW OF DEFEAT.

A graphic pen-picture of the chaotic and wretched condition of the English army after the crushing defeat

of the eighth, and until its final return to the fleet, is given by Gleig in his "Narrative of the Campaigns." It will be read with all the more interest because it is the frank admission of a brave though prejudiced officer, giving an enemy's view of the great disaster that befell the British arms, in which he fully shared:

General Lambert prudently determined not to risk the safety of his army by another attempt upon works evidently so much beyond our strength. He considered that his chances of success were in every respect lessened by the late repulse. An extraordinary degree of confidence was given to the enemy, while our forces were greatly diminished in numbers. If again defeated, nothing could save our army from destruction; it could only now retreat in force. A retreat, therefore, was resolved upon while the measure appeared practicable, and toward that end all our future operations were directed.

One great obstacle existed; by what road were the troops to travel to regain the fleet? On landing, we had taken advantage of the bayou, and thus come within two miles of the cultivated country, in our barges. To return by the same route was impossible. In spite of our losses there were not enough boats to transport above one half of the army at one time. If we separated, the chances were that both divisions would be destroyed; for those embarked might be intercepted, and those left behind might be attacked by the whole American army. To obviate the difficulty, it required that we should build a passable road through the swamp, to Lake Borgne, some twenty miles away. The task was burthened with

innumerable difficulties. There was no firm foundation on which to work, and no trees to assist in forming hurdles. All we could do was to bind together large quantities of swamp weeds and lay them across the quagmire. It was but the semblance of a road, without firmness and solidity.

To complete this road, bad as it was, occupied nine days, during which our army lay in camp, making no attempt to molest the enemy. The Americans, however, were not so inactive. A battery of six guns, mounted on the opposite bank, kept up a continued fire upon our men. The same mode of proceeding was adopted in front, and thus, night and day we were harassed by danger, against which there was no fortifying ourselves. Of the extreme unpleasantness of our situation, it is hardly possible to convey an adequate conception. We never closed our eyes in peace, for we were sure to be awaked before the lapse of many minutes, by the splash of a round-shot or shell in the mud beside us. Tents we had none, but lay some in open air, and some in huts of boards, or any material we could procure. From the moment of our landing, December 23d, not a man had undressed, except to bathe; many had worn the same shirt for weeks. Heavy rains now set in, with violent storms of thunder and lightning, and keen frosts at night. Thus we were wet all day, and nearly frozen at night. With our outposts there was constant skirmishing. Every day they were attacked by the Americans, and compelled to maintain their ground by dint of hard fighting. No one but those who belonged to this army can form a notion of the hardships it endured, and the fatigue it underwent.

Nor were these the only evils which tended to lessen our numbers. To our soldiers every inducement was held out by

the enemy to desert. Printed papers, offering lands and money as the price of desertion, were thrown into the pickets, while individuals would persuade our sentinels to quit their stations. It could not be expected that bribes so tempting would always be refused. Many desertions began daily to take place, and ere long became so frequent, that the evil rose to be of a serious nature. In the course of a week, many men quitted their colors, and fled to the enemy.

Meanwhile, the wounded, except such as were too severely hurt to be removed, were embarked in the boats and sent off to the fleet. Next followed the baggage and stores, with the civil officers, commissaries, and purveyors; and last of all such of the light artillery as could be drawn without risk of discovery. But of the heavy artillery, no account was taken. It was determined to leave them behind, retaining their stations. By the 17th, no part of the forces was left in camp but the infantry. On the evening of the 18th, it also began the retreat. Trimming the fires, and arranging all in the order as if no change were to take place, regiment after regiment stole away, as soon as darkness concealed their motions, leaving the pickets to follow as a rear guard, with injunctions not to retire till daylight appeared. Profound silence was maintained; not a man opened his mouth, except to issue necessary orders in a whisper. Not a cough or any other noise was to be heard from the head to the rear of the column. Even the steps of the soldiers were planted with care, to prevent the slightest echo. Nor was this precaution unnecessary. In spite of every endeavor to the contrary, a rumor of our intention had reached the Americans; for we found them of late very watchful and prying.

While our route lay alongside the river, the march was agreeable enough, but as soon as we entered the marsh, all comfort was at an end. Our roadway, constructed of materials so slight, and resting on a foundation so infirm, was trodden to pieces by the first corps. Those who followed were compelled to flounder on the best way they could. By the time the rear of the column gained the morass, all trace of a way had disappeared. Not only were the reeds torn asunder and sunk by the pressure of those in front, but the bog itself was trodden into the consistency of mud. Every step sunk us to the knees, and sometimes higher. Near the ditches, we had the utmost difficulty in crossing at all. There being no light, except what the stars supplied, it was difficult to select our steps, or follow those who called to us that they were safe on the other side. At one of those ditches, I myself beheld an unfortunate wretch gradually sink until he totally disappeared. I saw him flounder, heard his cry for help, and ran forward with the intention of saving him; but before I had taken a second step, I myself sunk to my breast in the mire. How I kept from smothering is more than I can tell, for I felt no solid bottom under me, and sank slowly deeper and deeper, till the mud reached my arms. Instead of rescuing the poor soldier, I was forced to beg assistance for myself. A leathern canteen strap being thrown to me, I laid hold of it, and was dragged out, just as my fellow-sufferer was buried alive, and seen no more.

All night we continued our journey, toiling and struggling through this terrible quagmire; and in the morning reached the Fishermen's Huts, mentioned before as standing on the brink of Bayou Bienvenue, near Lake Borgne. The site is as complete a desert as the eye of man was ever pained by

beholding. Not a tree or a bush grew near. As far as the eye could reach, an ocean of weeds covering and partially hiding the swamp presented itself, except on the side where a view of the Lake changed, without fertilizing, the prospect. Here we were ordered to halt; and perhaps I never rejoiced more sincerely at any order than at this. Wearied with my exertions, and oppressed with want of sleep, I threw myself on the chilly ground, without so much as pulling off my muddy garments; in an instant all my cares and troubles were forgotten. After many hours, I awoke from that sleep, cold and stiff, and creeping beside a miserable fire of weeds, devoured the last morsal of salt pork my wallet contained.

The whole army having come up, formed along the brink of the Lake; a line of outposts was planted, and the soldiers commanded to make themselves as comfortable as possible. But there was little comfort. Without tents or shelter of any kind, our bed was the morass, and our sole covering the clothes which had not quitted our backs for a month. Our fires, so necessary to a soldier's happiness, were composed solely of weeds, which blazed up and burned out like straw, imparting but little warmth. Above all, our provisions were expended, with no way to replenish in reach. Our sole dependence was the fleet, nearly one hundred miles away, at anchor. It was necessary to wait until our barges could make the trip there, and return. For two entire days, the only provisions issued to the troops were some crumbs of biscuit and a small allowance of rum. As for myself, being fond of hunting, I determined to fare better. I took a fire-lock and went in pursuit of wild ducks, of which there seemed plenty in the bog. I was fortunate enough to kill several, but they fell in the water,

about twenty yards out. There was no other alternative. Pulling off my clothes, and breaking the thin ice, I waded out and got my game, and returned to shore, shivering like an aspen. As I neared the shore, my leg stuck fast in the mire, and in pulling it out my stocking came off, a loss that gave me great discomfort, until we went aboard the fleet. I request that I may not be sneered at when I record this loss of my stocking as one of the disastrous consequences of this ill-fated expedition.

As the boats returned, regiment after regiment set sail for the fleet. But, the wind being foul, many days elapsed before all could be got off. By the end of January, we were all once more on board our former ships. But our return was far from triumphant. We, who only seven weeks ago had set out in the surest confidence of glory, and I may add, of emolument, were brought back dispirited and dejected. Our ranks were woefully thinned, our chiefs slain, our clothing tattered and filthy, and our discipline in some degree injured. A gloomy silence reigned throughout the armament, except when it was broken by the voice of lamentation over fallen friends. The interior of each ship presented a scene well calculated to prove the misadventures of human hope and human prudence. On reaching the fleet, we found that a splendid regiment, the 40th Foot, of one thousand men, had just arrived to reinforce us, ignorant of the fatal issue of our attack. But the coming of thrice their number could not recover what was lost, or recall the fateful past. There was no welcome, nor rejoicing; so great was the despondency that no attention was given to the event. A sullen indifference as to what might happen next seemed to have succeeded all our wonted curiosity, and confidence of success in every undertaking.

On the 4th of February, the fleet weighed anchor and set sail, though detained by adverse winds near the shore of Cat Island until the 7th, when it put to sea. Our course, towards the east, led to the conjecture that we were steering towards Mobile. Nor was it long before we came in sight of the bay which bears that name.

SECOND ATTACK ON FORT BOWYER, MOBILE BAY.

So great and so repeated had been the reverses of the British arms, that an opportunity to retrieve lost prestige, even in a small degree, could not well be permitted to pass unimproved. The great flotilla of sixty vessels, with the fragments of the shattered army, which set sail with flags and pennants gayly flying in the breeze from Negril Bay, Jamaica, but a little over two months ago, was still a power upon the sea, at a safe distance from Jackson's triumphant army. The little outpost of a fort that guarded Mobile Bay, which had inflicted a heavy loss on, and beaten off, a squadron of the enemy's ships a few months before, lay in their path homeward, and it was determined to invest it, and to overwhelm it with numbers. On the sixth of February, the great armament appeared in sight of Dauphin Island. On the seventh, twenty-five ships anchored in a crescent position extending from the island toward Mobile Point, where stood the fort. On the morning of the eighth, the enemy

landed five thousand troops opposite the line of ships at anchor, investing the fort by sea and land. The fortification was erected for defense mainly on the sea side, to render it formidable to ships attempting to enter the pass into Mobile Bay. On the land side was a sandy plain, rendering it incapable of defense against a superior force protected by extensive siege works. The enemy mounted a number of batteries behind parapets and epaulements, which directed their fire upon the weakest parts of the defense. The fort was gallantly defended by a garrison of three hundred and fifty men, under command of Colonel William Lawrence. Some losses were inflicted on the besiegers as they continued to push their works to within short musket-range of the fort. But the heavy cannonading and fire from small-arms encircled the besieged from every direction, and further defense became hopeless. Terms of surrender were agreed to on the eleventh, and on the twelfth the garrison marched out with the honors of war, yielding possession to the enemy.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE CONCLUDED ON THE 24TH
OF DECEMBER, 1814.

The small victory at Mobile Bay was barren of any gain to the British cause; for, on the fourteenth, two

days after the surrender, intelligence came from England to General Lambert that articles of peace had been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent nations, in session at Ghent. Gleig remarks, in his "Narrative": "With the reduction of this trifling work ended all hostilities in this quarter of America; for the army had scarcely reassembled, when intelligence arrived from England of peace. The news reached us on the fourteenth, and I shall not deny that it was received with much satisfaction."

On the nineteenth, General Jackson issued an address from headquarters, from which we reproduce as follows: "The flag-vessel, which was sent to the enemy's fleet at Mobile, has returned, and brings with it intelligence, extracted from a London paper, that on the twenty-fourth of December articles of peace were signed by the commissioners of the two nations."

Thus, on the day after the first landing of the British army on Louisiana soil, and after the first battle was fought at night, terms of peace were agreed on. It was fifteen days after that auspicious event until the battles on the eighth occurred, causing such disaster and loss of valuable lives to the English army and nation; and fifty-two days from the signing of articles until a message of the good news was received by the commander-in-chief

of the British forces. There was no alternative but to await the slow passage of the ship across the wide Atlantic, with sails set to breeze and calm, and sometimes tossed and delayed by adverse storm. To-day, the news of such an event would be flashed over the great cables under the sea and the network of electric wires throughout the land, in the twinkling of an eye after its occurrence. Such an advantage at the time would have been worth to England the entire cost of the telegraph system of the world.

LEGISLATURE SUPPRESSED UNDER MARTIAL LAW—
CHARGES OF TREASONABLE UTTERANCES.

On the morning of the twenty-eighth of December, just as the British began their attack on the American line, General Jackson issued an order forcibly forbidding the meeting of the Legislature in session, and for taking possession of the legislative halls. The proceeding created great excitement in the civil and military circles of the city, especially among the members of the body and their immediate friends. The author is indebted to Mr. William Beer, of the Howard Library of New Orleans, for the loan of a copy of a rare little book entitled "Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Military Measures Employed Against the Legislature of the State

of Louisiana, the 28th of December, 1814." In the full report of the testimony taken by the committee, we have a history of the causes which led to this open rupture between the commander-in-chief and the General Assembly of Louisiana, and of its incidents and issues.

Since the landing of the British army on the twenty-third, there were afloat in nebulous form some rumors of disaffection toward the American military occupation of Louisiana, among an element of the population unfriendly to the sovereignty of the United States over the territory since its purchase from Napoleon. Up to the time of the military occupation under Jackson, this hostile feeling seemed to display its temper and policies mainly in matters of civil procedure. There was very naturally a jealous opposition on the part of many leading citizens, of French and Spanish descent, of whom the population west of the Mississippi was almost entirely made up, against the annexation of the territory east of that river as part of Louisiana, on equal terms of citizenship and co-sovereignty. This east territory, they felt, had been rudely seized and possessed by the United States, against the claim and protest of Spain. It was being settled by American people, who in time would help to Americanize the country, and to lessen the power and control of the former creole domination. The virtues of a patriotic

love of their native countries yet lingered in the bosoms of these citizens—a patriotic love which, when finally transferred to the new government they were under, burned as brightly for the new sovereignty as for the old.

Captain Abner L. Duncan, aid to Jackson, testified before the committee as follows:

On the 28th, Colonel Declouet (of General Morgan's command) coming in haste from the city, joined this respondent and begged him to inform General Jackson that a plan was on foot among several members of the Legislature for the surrender of the country to the enemy. Colonel Declouet named in confidence to myself, to Generals Jackson and Morgan, and to Major Robinson, several members as persons determined on making the attempt. He added, that he heard one or more members say, that Jackson was carrying on a Russian war (alluding to the burning of Moscow), and that it was best to save private property by a timely surrender; that he, Colonel Declouet, had been invited to join in the measure. On this respondent making the communication to General Jackson, the order he received was: "Tell Governor Claiborne to prevent this, and to blow them up if they attempt it!"

Colonel Declouet told me the plan had been first disclosed to him by the Speaker of the House, Mr. Guichard. He said in presence of General Jackson and Mr. Daresac, that many other influential men were concerned in it, and that they had held several night or secret meetings on the subject. He gave the names of Mr. John Blanque and Mr. Marigny, and generally all those voting with Mr. Blanque in the House. He stated

that, as an inducement offered to unite in the plan, he was informed by Mr. Guichard that General Jackson would burn and destroy everything before him sooner than surrender the country, and that the English would respect private property. I understood also, from some members of the House, Mr. Harper and Mr. Fickland among them, and in the Senate from General Morgan and Mr. Hireart, that an attempt would be made to dismember the State. I also understood from other members that they would consider it an act of violence; and would resist it by violence.

Colonel Declouet was the chief informant at headquarters; but rumors had been rife for several days of disloyal utterances and of mysterious proceedings, which caused uneasiness to the civil and military authorities, and especially to Governor Claiborne, who had made known his apprehensions of trouble from the disaffected element, warning General Jackson of the dangers possible from this quarter. The Legislature was to convene on the twenty-eighth; and it was intimated that the overture for a surrender might be resolved upon that day. Such a possible action, in the very crisis of battle, could be but an attempt to marplot the military plans of the commander-in-chief, and to marshal an enemy in the rear. The information brought in so abruptly on that morning by Colonel Declouet made a profound impression on the mind of General Jackson. The enemy had already

opened the battle of the twenty-eighth of December, with the forward movement of his columns and under the heavy fire of his batteries.

In the excitement of the moment, Jackson gave the verbal order to his aid, Captain Duncan, to be delivered at once to Governor Claiborne for immediate execution. This order, as rendered by Captain Duncan, directed the Governor to summarily close the halls of the Legislature, and to place a guard at the doors to prevent a meeting of the body until further orders. Duncan testified that the General put in emphasis the words: "Tell Governor Claiborne to prevent this, and to blow them up if they attempt it!"

The order was executed. The Governor commissioned General J. B. Labitat, of the Louisiana troops, to enforce it; he placed a guard of soldiers at the doors of the building, and forbade entrance to the members on that day. Captain Duncan had put spurs to his horse and started on a lope to the city with the order. On the way he met Colonel Fortier, an aid to the Governor, who consented to promptly deliver the order, permitting Duncan to return. In the proceedings of the committee, Honorable Levi Wells, member of the House of Representatives from Rapides Parish, testified that on the twenty-eighth, under an order of General Jackson, an armed guard was

placed at the doors of the legislative halls in the city of New Orleans, which was to hinder the members from assembling; "and even to fire on them, should they dare to persist in their design; and that the life of a representative of the people, and a member of the Body, was exposed to the greatest danger; that a sentinel, to hinder him from repairing to his post, presented his bayonet and threatened to run him through with it, unless he retired, adding to this outrage the most insulting tone."

Through the mediation of friendly counsel the views of both the civil and military chiefs were modified. The order was revoked within twenty-four hours, and the guards withdrawn; on the twenty-ninth, the Legislature was permitted to convene. In the conclusion, the committee exonerated Speaker Guichard and other members of the Legislature referred to as under suspicion, and severely censured Colonel Declouet and Captain Duncan as the indiscreet authors of all the trouble. The measures taken by General Jackson and Governor Claiborne were effectual; while the report of the committee was evidently drawn to modify and explain the imputed indiscretions of some of their fellow-members who had been compromised. The procedure did not include all the legislators; for some of these had volunteered their

services, shouldered their muskets, and gone to the front of battle.

A feeling of keen resentment toward General Jackson and some officers involved in this affair was nursed long after by these legislators. After peace was assured and hostilities at an end, the Legislature voted a resolution of thanks for valiant services in defense of Louisiana to the officers and soldiers from the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, with the request to the Governor that he should convey the sense of this resolution in appropriate terms in a letter each to the officers in command of these troops, respectively. The resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the General Assembly be presented, in the name of the State, to our brave brother soldiers from Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Mississippi Territory, and their gallant leaders, Generals Coffee, Carroll, Thomas, Adair, and Colonel Hinds, for the brilliant share they have had in the defense of this country and the happy harmony they have maintained with the inhabitants and militia of the State.

MAGLOIRE GUICHARD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

FULWAR SKIPWORTH,
President of Senate.

Approved, February 2d, 1815.

WM. C. CLAIBORNE,
Governor of State.

The great chieftain could well afford to pass the slight in silence, hailed as he was by the acclamations of the multitude—the deliverer of the country, and the hero of the nation!

A similar resolution of thanks was voted to the officers and troops of Louisiana, who had so patriotically sprung to arms on the invasion of the enemy, and who had so gallantly fought in the several battles of the campaign. In this resolution separate mention was made of each of the officers of the State troops and their several commands, reciting the meritorious services they had rendered, in terms of special praise, making exceptions of certain officers who had incurred the displeasure of some of the honorable legislators.

Under the first resolution, letters were addressed each to Generals Coffee and Carroll, of Tennessee, to Major Hinds, of Mississippi, and to Generals Thomas and Adair, of Kentucky. As these letters are of similar tenor, we quote only the correspondence with General Adair:

NEW ORLEANS, February 25th, 1815.

Sir: To a soldier who has done his duty in all the conflicts in which his country has been involved, from the War of Independence to the present moment, it must be matter of great exultation to notice the valor and firmness of the children of his old friends; to be convinced that they are the true

descendants of the old stock. That the young men of your brigade should have looked up to you in the hour of battle, as their guide and their shield, is only a continuation of that confidence which their fathers had in a chief whose arm had so often, and so successfully, been raised against the foe. The enclosed Resolution of the General Assembly of Louisiana will show you the high sense which is entertained in this State of your services and of those of your brothers in arms. Be towards them the vehicle of our sentiments, and receive for yourself the assurances of my respect and best wishes.

WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE,
Governor of Louisiana.

To General John Adair.

The response of General Adair:

Gov. WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

Sir: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's note, inclosing a Resolution of the Legislature of Louisiana, generously awarding the thanks of the State to the militia from her sister States, who aided in the late successful struggle to expel a powerful invading enemy from her shores.

To a proud American, citizen or soldier, the consciousness of having faithfully discharged his duty to his country must ever be his highest and most lasting consolation. But when to this is added the approbation, the gratitude of the wisest, the most respectable part of the community, with whom and under whose eye it has been his fortune to act, it will ever be esteemed, not only the highest reward for his services, but the most powerful incentive to his future good conduct.

Accept, sir, for the Legislature, my warmest acknowledgments for the honorable mention they have made of the corps to which I belong, and for yourself the esteem and respect so justly due from me, for your polite and highly interesting note of communication; and my best wishes for your health and happiness.

JOHN ADAIR.

GENERAL JACKSON—CLASH WITH THE COURT.

A member of the Legislature, Mr. Loillier, severely censured the commander-in-chief for continuing New Orleans and vicinity under martial law after the defeat and embarkation of the British army, and for his arbitrary course in sending a body of creole troops to a remote camp near Baton Rouge, in response to their petition for a discharge. Jackson ordered his arrest. Loillier applied to Judge Hall, of the United States District Court, for a writ of habeas corpus, which was promptly granted by the court. General Jackson summarily ordered the arrest of Judge Hall also; and that he and the assemblyman both be deported beyond the military lines, as persons liable to incite insubordination and mutiny within the martial jurisdiction. Intelligence of the treaty of peace at Ghent soon followed, and martial law once again yielded to civil authority.

Judge Hall, resenting what he deemed a great indignity upon the court, issued an order, summoning Jackson

to appear before him to answer a grave charge of contempt. Jackson's attorney attempted to plead in his defense, but the judge silenced him, and set the hearing a week after. On the thirty-first of March, Jackson appeared in court in person, but refused to be interrogated. As his defense had been denied, he announced that he was there only to receive the sentence of the court. Judge Hall then imposed a fine of one thousand dollars, which sum the veteran offender drew from his pocket and handed in to the court.

These proceedings were attended with profound excitement throughout the city and community. The hero of the day had a determined following present in crowds at and near the court-room; and among these were the Baratarian contingent, with their leaders, and others as desperate as these. But the great commander had set the example of implicit obedience to the law, and no disrespect to the court was shown. But as the General sought to retire from the scene, the enthusiasm of the crowds overleaped all bounds of propriety. With shouts and roars of applause the devoted people lifted him in their arms and upon their shoulders, and bore him in triumph through the streets of the city to his headquarters, despite the chagrin and helpless protestations of the victim of their admiration. Tall and gaunt, and angular

in person, with his long, spare limbs dangling helplessly about him, and rocked and swayed by the movement of the masses under him, the great warrior was never in all his life before in a position more awkward and undignified. The master of men and emergencies was unthroned for one time in life.

The money to pay the fine was proffered over and over again to reimburse him by ardent friends, but Jackson would listen to no terms of payment of the fine, except out of his own purse. He alone had committed the offense—if there was an offense—and he alone would assume to pay the penalty. It was not until 1844, one year before his death, that Congress passed an act to refund the principal and interest, which amounted then to twenty-seven hundred dollars. In advocacy of this bill Stephen A. Douglas, then Senator from Illinois, made his maiden speech upon the floor of the Senate of the United States.

ENGLAND'S PURPOSE TO CONQUER AND HOLD POSSESSION
OF THE TERRITORY CEDED BY NAPOLEON, AND
TO ESTABLISH HER DOMINION IN THE
MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

There are evidences that the English Government had revived an old dream of conquest and expansion, by which she might once again establish dominion west of the

Alleghany Mountains, by the capture of New Orleans, the key to the lower Mississippi Valley. It is a well-known fact in history that that government refused to recognize the legitimacy of the sale and transfer of the Territory of Louisiana by Napoleon to the United States. She had looked upon the transaction with a covetous and jealous eye, for she had nursed the hope some day of adding to her own vast possessions, by conquest or purchase, not only the domain of Louisiana, but that of Florida also. Had it not been that she was engrossed with her military and naval forces in the turbulent wars in Europe, during the ascendant period of Napoleon, the British Government would most probably have employed her armies and navies mainly in the accomplishment of these aims of territorial aggrandizement. Her invasion of the Northwest territory from Canada, at the opening of the War of 1812-15, which so disastrously ended with the destruction of the British fleet by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and the annihilation of the British army by General Harrison at the battle of the Thames, was but an entering wedge to her deep designs. After the fall of Napoleon and the pacification of Europe relieved her armies and navies of further service on that side of the ocean, she, in her pride and insolence, believed that she would be invincible in America. Her cherished dream

might now at last be realized by the conquest and permanent possession of Louisiana. We have mentioned the significant fact that overtures for peaceful negotiations had been mutually arranged as early as January, 1814, and commissioners soon after appointed to meet at Ghent. When the capitulation at Paris and the exile of Napoleon to Elba occurred within a few brief months, repeated excuses for the delay of negotiations by the British envoys were made. The United States wanted peace on equitable terms, for she had nothing to gain by continuing the war. England dallied and delayed; meanwhile marshaling her military and naval forces for a final crushing blow on her American foe. When articles of peace were signed on the twenty-fourth of December, the British Government knew that information of the event would not reach the belligerents in the Gulf of Mexico until some time in February. But His Majesty, the King of England, and his councilors, confidently believed, as did the officers in command of the English army and navy in this expedition, that the victorious invaders would eat their Christmas dinner in the subjugated city of New Orleans, and there to stay.

Gleig, an educated officer with the army of invasion, who became the chief English historian of the campaign, in his "Narrative," has to say:

The primary cause of our defeat may be traced to a source more distant than I have mentioned; I mean to the disclosure of our designs to the enemy. How this occurred, I shall not take upon me to declare; though several rumors bearing at least the guise of probability have been circulated. The attack on New Orleans was professedly a secret expedition, so secret indeed that it was not communicated to the inferior officers and soldiers in the armament until immediately previous to our quitting Jamaica. To the Americans, however, it appears to have been long known before. And hence it was that, instead of taking them unawares, we found them fully prepared for our reception. *That our failure is to be lamented no one will deny, since the conquest of New Orleans would have been, beyond all comparison, the most valuable acquisition that could be made to the British dominion throughout the whole Western hemisphere. In possession of that post, we should have kept the entire Southern trade of the United States in check, and furnished means of commerce to our own merchants, of incalculable value.*

On the 29th of August, 1814, Colonel Edward Nichols, in command of the land forces quartered in the Spanish capital of Pensacola, issued a proclamation, from which we quote:

Natives of Louisiana! On you the first call is made to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil. Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British; whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you also, I call to aid me in this just cause. The American usurpation in this country must be abolished, and the lawful owners of the soil

put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers, a good train of artillery with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous squadron of ships. Be assured, your property, your laws, the tranquility and peace of your country, will be guaranteed to you. Rest assured that these brave Indians only burn with an ardent desire of satisfaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans, to join you in liberating the southern province from their yoke, and drive them into the limits formerly prescribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves not to injure the persons or properties of any but enemies to their Spanish or English fathers. A flag, Spanish, French, or British, over any door, will be a certain protection.

Inhabitants of Kentucky! You have too long borne with grievous impositions. The whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons; be imposed on no longer; but either range yourselves under the standard of your forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If you comply, whatever provisions you send down will be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, will be guaranteed to you.

Men of Kentucky! Let me call to your minds the conduct of those factions which hurried you into this civil, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve in defense of her own, and the liberties of the world. Europe is now happy and free, and now hastens justly to avenge an unprovoked insult. Accept of my offers; everything I have promised, I guarantee to you, on the sacred honor of a British officer.

We might repeat such evidences of the purposes and plans of the expedition to Louisiana. But we will close the subject with the impressions of General Jackson himself.

In a contribution to the Philadelphia Times, of the 1st of November, 1898, Colonel A. C. Buell is authority for the following:

"It was related to me," says Colonel Buell, "by the late Governor William Allen, of Ohio, when, as correspondent of the Missouri Republican, I visited the venerable statesman at his home near Chillicothe, in 1875. After an interview on the current political situation, Governor Allen became reminiscent. A scrap-book beats the best of memories in the world; so I will quote from my scrap-book the exact text of this reminiscence. The Governor said:

"Shortly after Arkansas was admitted into the Union, in 1836, I, being a member of Congress, then called at the White House. General Jackson—he always preferred to be called General, rather than Mr. President—invited me to lunch with him. No sooner were we seated, than he said: Mr. Allen, let us take a little drink to the new star in the flag;—Arkansas! This ceremony being duly observed, the General continued: Allen, if there had been disaster, instead of victory, at New Orleans, there would never have been a State of Arkansas.

"This, of course, interested me; and I asked: Why do you say that, General?

“Then he answered that: If Pakenham had taken New Orleans, the British would have claimed and held the whole of Louisiana Purchase.

“But, I said, you know, General Jackson, that the Treaty of Ghent, which had been signed fifteen days before the decisive battle, provided for the restoration of all territory, places and possessions, taken by either nation from the other, during the war, with certain unimportant exceptions.

“Yes, of course, Jackson replied, but the minutes of the conference at Ghent, as kept by Mr. Gallatin, represent the British commissioners as declaring in exact words: “We do not admit Bonaparte’s construction of the law of nations; we can not accept it in relation to any subject-matter before us.”

“At that moment, pursued General Jackson, none of our commissioners knew what the real meaning of those words was. When they were uttered the British commissioners knew that Pakenham’s expedition had been decided on; our commissioners did not know it. Now, since I have been Chief Magistrate, I have learned, from diplomatic sources of the most unquestionable authority, that the British ministry did not intend the Treaty of Ghent to apply to the Louisiana Purchase at all. The whole corporation of them,—Pitt, the Duke of Portland, Grenville, Perceval, Lord Liverpool, and Castlereagh, denied in toto the legal right of Napoleon to sell Louisiana to us. They held, therefore, that we had no right to that Territory. So you see, Allen, that the words of Mr. Gouldburn, on behalf of the British commissioners, which I have quoted to you from Albert Gallatin’s minutes of the conference, had a far deeper significance than our commissioners could penetrate. These words were meant to lay the founda-

tion for a claim on the Louisiana Purchase, entirely external to the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. And in that way, the British government was signing a treaty with one hand in front, whilst the other hand, behind its back, was dispatching Pakenham's army to seize the fairest of our possessions.

“‘You can also see, my dear Allen, said the old General, waxing warmer, you can also see what an awful mess such a situation would have been, if the British programme had been carried out in full. But Providence willed otherwise. All the tangled web that the cunning of English diplomacy could weave around our unsuspecting commissioners at Ghent was torn to pieces, and soaked with British blood, in half an hour, at New Orleans, by the never-missing rifles of my Tennessee and Kentucky pioneers; and that ended it. British diplomacy could do wonders; but it could not provide against such a contingency as that. Now, Allen, you have the whole story; and know why Arkansas was saved to the Union.’”

JUST LIKE JACKSON.

During the war of 1812-15, the officials of the English Government, civil and military, distinguished themselves by their haughty arrogance and insulting tone of superiority toward the American people; and were, with revengeful malice, guilty of vandalism, spoliations, and cruelties, which were a disgrace to civilization, not to speak of the massacres and butcheries of thousands of women and children by the savage Indians, whom they

employed and paid to commit these crimes. Andrew Jackson soon put an end to these English barbarisms wherever he commanded the American armies. An incident, illustrative of his summary methods of dealing with the insolence of his enemies in authority, occurred at Pensacola. The English fleet and army had come in and quartered there in the Spanish capital, with the approval and aid of the Spanish governor, though Spain was at peace with the United States. The British assured him that they would soon be in possession of Louisiana and the coast country, and would fully protect the Spaniard as an ally and friend. When Jackson marched his army to Pensacola, and sent in a message to the governor to expel the British soldiers from the city and order their fleet out of the harbor, the reply of the Spaniard was truckling to the English in tone and evasive and insolent toward the American officer in command. General Jackson replied in the following language:

Your Excellency has been candid enough to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying on one of your forts. All this is done while you are pretending to be neutral. You can not be surprised then; but on the contrary will provide a fort in your town for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it into my head to pay you a visit. In future,

I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government, for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more as a diplomatic character, unless so proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon.

The old hero meant all he said; for he marched upon the town, forced a surrender, sent the British flying to their ships for safety, and compelled the fleet to put to sea.

HUMILIATION OF ENGLAND.

No event in the modern history of her military operations brought a deeper disappointment and a keener sense of humiliation to the English Government, and to the nation, than did the disastrous failure of this expedition, fitted out in haughty pride for the invasion and conquest of Louisiana. The true story of the campaign and battles was in the main suppressed by the Tory press, in the interest of the reigning dynasty and to save the pride and prestige of a really great and imperial people. A coincidence occurred to aid in diverting the mind of the public from the contemplation of the deplorable event. On the 23d of February, 1815, news of the defeat at New Orleans reached London. On the same day arrived the intelligence of the escape of Napoleon from Elba, and of his landing on the shores of France. Public

attention was diverted by the new sensation. The government press fostered the illusion, and the horrors of New Orleans were not so fully known or felt.

William Cobbett, the noted Liberal essayist and author, of England, wrote of the event: "And this was all the people of the duped nation ever heard of the matter. Bonaparte had landed from Elba, and the battle of Waterloo soon succeeded. Both the Government and the people were glad to forget all about this unmerciful beating in America. This battle of New Orleans broke the heart of European despotism. The man who won it did, in that one act, more for the good and the honor of the human race than ever was done by any other man."

The author, discussing the incidents and issues of this remarkable campaign, in the light of the vast superiority in both military and naval forces of the British over the Americans, their more thorough equipment, and their veteran discipline under the best-trained officers in the world, put the inquiry: "How can we account for the repeated reverses, and the final overwhelming defeat and expulsion from the country, of such a vast and formidable armament by an inferior body of raw recruits, suddenly improvised for defense from the militia of the country, and but poorly armed and equipped?" "Providence!" was the reply; nothing less

than Providence could have baffled and beaten such a powerful foe, bent on conquest and spoliation for a wicked purpose, with a wicked spirit, and in a wicked cause. England's boastful pride and intolerant and cruel insolence toward her American kindred was humbled at last. The God of battle had once again in time punished a strong nation for its stubborn crimes, and given victory to the oppressed. Providence was with Jackson and his militia!

DEATH OF LORD PAKENHAM.

Pakenham died the death of the brave soldier, the heroic Briton, and the beloved commander. His wounds were mortal, and he was at once borne back to headquarters unconscious and dying. No last words came down to us through the grief-stricken aids who ministered to him in his last hour. The British accounts of his wounding and death-scenes are conflicting and unsatisfactory. Judge Walker, in his work, "Jackson and New Orleans," after much research, says that Pakenham was wounded first while attempting to rally the Forty-fourth Regiment, whose chief officer, Colonel Mullins, had failed to lead it to a second attack, after the first repulse by the Tennessee and Kentucky infantry. A musket-ball broke his right arm, and another killed his horse. His aid,

Captain McDougall, assisted him to mount his own horse, a creole pony, and led him forward by the bridle-rein, the General's wounded arm hanging helpless at his side. Pakenham continued in front, and to encourage his men. As the Ninety-third Highlanders came up, he raised his hat in his left hand, waved it in the air with enthusiasm, and shouted:

“Hurrah! Hurrah! brave Highlanders!”

A discharge of grape-shot almost annihilated the group. One shot passed through the General's thigh, and at the same time through the body of the pony, and both went down, never to rise again. As the aid raised him once again in his arms, the chief received a third and fatal wound in the groin. He was borne back then, near to his headquarters, and placed under a large oak tree, where, beyond the surgeon's skill, he shortly breathed his last.

BRITISH SOLDIERS WON LAURELS IN EUROPEAN WARS.

From English authorities we learn that there were in the English army, under Pakenham, regiments that had won laurels at Martinique, Badajoz, Salamanca, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and Toulouse. The English chronicler, Cooke, says of some of these veterans, who touched, on their way to America from the coasts of

France, the shore of Old England for a few days, that "scraps from our colors, or other little souvenirs, were craved for with outstretched hands, to find a resting place in the fair bosoms of the ladies of Devonshire."

Others again were but recently transported from the fiery ordeals of Corunna, Busaco, and Ciudad Rodrigo, says the same author. England never sent forth from her borders a braver or better-disciplined body of soldiers, as was proven in every trial of campaign and battle of the invasion of Louisiana. No other troops in the world could have behaved with more sturdy gallantry or fought with superior courage. Their defeat was destiny. Providence and General Jackson did it!

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON.

Andrew Jackson was born in the Waxhaw settlement on the 15th of March, 1767, so near the border of North and South Carolina as to leave it a question of contention as to which State may claim the honor of his nativity. His father, Andrew Jackson, came over from Carrickfergus, on the north coast of Ireland, in 1765. His mother was Elizabeth Hutchinson. The father died before the birth of Andrew. His birthplace was a rude log cabin of the border. His education was limited to the elementary studies of the country schools of his day. At the age of fourteen he entered the colonial army, and, young as he was, displayed the same spirit of patriotic courage and indomitable will that made him famous. Two elder brothers had entered the army before him, and both gave their lives a sacrifice to the cause of liberty. The mother died soon, of grief and the hardships of war. Young Andrew was taken prisoner, and roughly treated by his captors. He was nearly starved in prison at Camden. While thus confined, an English officer insolently ordered him one day to black his boots. Jackson indignantly refused, for which offense the brutal officer beat him over his head with his sword, inflicting injuries which

caused suffering in after life. This incident is related to have greatly intensified Jackson's hatred of the English throughout his life. An orphan, and alone in the world, when the War of the Revolution was over he was apprenticed to learn the saddler's trade. At eighteen he began the study of law, in the office of McCoy, in Salisbury.

In 1788, Jackson was appointed public prosecutor for western North Carolina, now Tennessee. He removed and located at Nashville, and very soon was engaged in an active and remunerative practice. In 1796, he sat as a delegate in the convention at Knoxville, to frame a constitution for Tennessee, admitted into the Union as a State in that year. He was the first representative in Congress of the new State. But one year afterward, he was elected a senator of the United States Congress. In 1798, he resigned his seat in the Senate to accept an appointment as judge of the Supreme Court of his State, which office he held for six years. He engaged repeatedly in personal rencounters and duels, and in the latter received wounds that caused him great physical suffering during life.

Since 1801, he had been commander of the Tennessee militia. On the declaration of war against England, Jackson offered his services, with twenty-five hundred

troops, to the Government for the defense of the country. He was ordered to Natchez with two thousand men to operate against any movement of the enemy on New Orleans. No enemy appearing on the coast, he was ordered by Secretary Armstrong, of the War Department, to disband his army. This foolish order Jackson disobeyed, and very properly led his men back to Tennessee before dismissing them. His famous campaign against the great Creek nation, in 1814, and his repeated victories over these savage allies of England, breaking their power and compelling peace; his Gulf Coast campaign and battles around New Orleans, crushing the British army and driving it from the country; his successful career as President of the United States, are well known in the history of our nation, and distinguish him as one of the ablest and most forceful characters our country has ever produced. He died at the Hermitage, full of honors and renown, on the 8th of June, 1845, having lived a patriot citizen, an able military chieftain, and a great leader in the civic affairs of State and nation.

ISAAC SHELBY, GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY.

Fortunate was it for Kentucky and for the nation that Isaac Shelby directed the military affairs of the Commonwealth during the period of the second war with England. This famous pioneer of the famous pioneers of Kentucky was born in Maryland, on the 11th of December, 1750, near Hagerstown. Early in life he was employed as a land surveyor. On the threatened invasion of Virginia by the federated army of the Northwest tribes under the celebrated chief, Cornstalk, he was lieutenant of a company in the command of his father, General Evan Shelby, and gained distinction for gallant services in the great victory won at Point Pleasant on the 10th of October, 1774, which forced the Indians to sue for peace. He visited Kentucky in 1775, with the vanguard of pioneer explorers, and marked the lands which afterward, in 1780, he returned and secured by entry and upon which he settled with his family after the Revolutionary War.

When he removed from Maryland, he settled near the borderline of Virginia and North Carolina, then not well defined. Believing his residence on Virginia soil, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature in 1779. But

the survey of the boundary line determined him a citizen of North Carolina, and as such he was officially known after until his final removal to Kentucky. In the gloomiest period of the War for Independence, in the southern colonies, after the defeat at Camden and the surrender of Charleston, Shelby became famous as a border leader of what seemed the forlorn hope of the colonists, and for his frequent victories over the enemy. With Colonels Sevier and Clarke, he led his command to the attack and capture of a strong fort in the Cherokee country, which had, garrisoned by British, Tories, and Indians, greatly harassed the settlers in west North Carolina. Soon after, in August, 1780, he inflicted a loss of several hundred by an attack on the British at Musgrove's Mill, South Carolina, and escaped with little loss of his own men. But his greatest victory, and one of the most decisive of the war, was won at King's Mountain. Joining forces with Colonels Sevier and Campbell, a bold attack was planned and made on the notorious General Ferguson, encamped on King's Mountain. Without artillery, these frontiersmen, with their flint-lock rifles, boldly attacked Ferguson's veterans, advancing on the enemy up the mountain side, and keeping up the fight until Ferguson and nearly four hundred of his men were slain, and over seven hundred made prisoners.



ISAAC SHELBY,
First and Sixth Governor of Kentucky.

After the close of the war, in the winter of 1782-3, General Shelby removed to Kentucky and settled in Lincoln County, where he remained through life at his elegant home and upon his ample estate, the model citizen and patriot. His civic and military fame preceded him, for many of his soldiers of the Revolution were his emigrant neighbors. When Kentucky took the initial steps toward Statehood in the Union, Shelby was a member of the convention of 1787-8, and also of the convention to frame the first constitution, of 1792. By unanimous consent, he became the first Governor of the Commonwealth, in 1792, and was inaugurated as Governor at Lexington on the first of June. On the sixth of June, in courtly style, the Governor appeared in person in presence of the legislators, in joint assembly, and read to the august body his first message, formally delivering to the Speakers of each House a copy in manuscript, and then retired in dignified state, when the Speakers each adjourned the members to their respective halls. This was in imitation of the custom of the British monarchs, followed by the colonial governors in America, and by Washington himself in his first inaugural ceremonies.

So much had Governor Shelby established himself in the esteem and confidence of the people, that with unanimity he was elected a second time to serve as Governor

in the critical period of 1812, when a second war with England became a certainty. His indomitable and patriotic zeal counted no costs and reckoned at no sacrifice to punish the invaders and drive them from our soil during the three years of hostilities. In this time, under his several calls, over twenty thousand volunteers were sent to the Army of the Northwest under Harrison, from Kentucky. By these mainly, the shameful surrender of Hull, at Detroit, was retrieved, the victory of the Thames won, and the British and their Indian allies driven from the borders, from Detroit to Buffalo, for the remainder of the war. At the battle of the Thames, won by Kentuckians, Governor Shelby led the three thousand volunteers whom he had called out for this campaign, in person, though in his sixty-fourth year of age. On his return to the capital of his State, when a last requisition was made by the Secretary of War, in 1814, thousands of volunteers answered his call for troops to reinforce the army of General Jackson in the Southwest, of whom three regiments, of twenty-two hundred men, were accepted and sent to New Orleans. Governor Shelby notified the Government at Washington that, if ten thousand soldiers were needed to repel the enemy and drive him from our soil in the Southwest, Kentucky was ready to supply them on brief notice.

Peace once again reigned when his second term as Governor ended. He retired to his country home, where he spent the evening of his life, honored and esteemed by a grateful and devoted constituency of citizenship as few men were. He died at his home on the 26th of July, 1826, in the ripeness of years and of honors.

GENERAL JOHN ADAIR.

John Adair was born in Chester County, S. C., in 1759, and was the son of Baron William Adair, of Scotland, whose wife was a Moore. After remaining some years in South Carolina, Baron Adair returned to Scotland. The son became a soldier in the Revolutionary War when quite a youth, and served with gallantry in the colonial army. He was made prisoner, and was treated with repeated cruelties by the enemy. He was a member of the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. He removed to Kentucky in 1787, and settled in Mercer County. He took an active and prominent part in the Indian border wars, having been appointed major by General Wilkinson. He was in many frays with the savages, in one of which, after several repulses of a body of Indians largely outnumbering his own forces, he was defeated by Chief Little Turtle, though he brought off his men after inflicting more serious losses on the enemy than his own. This was near Fort St. Clair, in Ohio. In 1793, General Scott appointed him a lieutenant-colonel. He represented Mercer County in the Legislature several times, and was once Speaker of the House.

Adair's name became involved with Aaron Burr's in the military movements in Kentucky and the Southwest which have become known in history as "Burr's Conspiracy," as did the names of Andrew Jackson and other prominent men of this country, of unquestioned loyalty to our nation. Burr's designs, with all the lights thrown upon the question, have remained a mystery to this day. If he contemplated ultimate treason, he did not fully disclose it to many who were disposed to sympathize with and to lend aid to what they were persuaded was a legitimate expedition to wrest from Spanish rule territory in dispute, or which "manifest destiny" determined should come under the rule of the United States as against the aggressions of Spain or England. Burr undoubtedly misled many good and patriotic men, who abandoned his fortunes when the intimations of treasonable designs were charged against him, which brought him to trial.

In 1805, when John Breckinridge resigned his seat in the United States Senate to become attorney-general under Jefferson, Adair was elected to fill the unexpired term. He entered the military service again, and at the battle of Thames River acted as volunteer aid to Governor Shelby. For gallant conduct on this occasion he was made a brigadier-general in 1814. He took a leading part in recruiting the volunteer troops for the rein-

forcement of Jackson's army at New Orleans, and in their transportation down the river. General Thomas, in chief command of these, being prostrated with illness, the command fell upon General Adair. He displayed courage and military skill in the disposition of his troops, and especially in the final contest on the eighth of January, under difficulties that were seriously embarrassing.

In 1820, he was elected governor of Kentucky, and held this office when the great questions of relief, and Old Court and New Court, began to disturb the peace and tranquility of the Commonwealth. In 1831, he was elected a member of Congress, and in the national house served on the Committee on Military Affairs. He died on the 19th of May, 1840, and was buried in the State cemetery at Frankfort, where a monument, erected at the cost of the State, with proper inscription, stands over his grave. A fine oil portrait of him hangs on the wall of the capitol, at Frankfort.

COLONEL GABRIEL SLAUGHTER

Who commanded a regiment of Kentucky troops in the battle of New Orleans, was a native of Virginia, but immigrated to Kentucky in pioneer days and settled in Mercer County, about four miles east of Harrodsburg, on the turnpike road leading to Lexington. Though a man of ability, and much esteemed, he seems to have lived in the retirement of private life until the maturity of middle age. He early became a member of the Baptist church, in which he led a consistent and zealous life, taking a prominent part as a layman in the promotion of the interests of religion and of the denomination with whom he fraternized. His character and worth made him prominent among the brotherhood. He often represented his church as its messenger, and was usually called to preside as moderator over the associations within the jurisdictions of which he lived. His hospitality was of that warm and generous kind which was characteristic of pioneer days. His ample and comfortable country mansion, situated upon a much-frequented highway, came to be known far and wide as the "Wayfarer's Rest."

Under the call of Governor Shelby, in 1814, he enlisted a regiment of volunteers for the army of the Southwest

from Mercer County and the counties adjacent, which was one of three regiments accepted for this service. The gallant and distinguished part taken at New Orleans, in the great battle of the eighth of January, by Colonel Slaughter and his regiment, has been set forth in the pages of this book. No troops engaged on the American side on that day did more fatal execution upon the enemy's rank and file than did these. Every man of the regiment was in rifle-range, and all did deadly work.

Though courteous and gentle in manner, Colonel Slaughter was possessed of invincible firmness and independence when occasion required or a sense of duty urged. An incident illustrates. General Jackson, who held him in high esteem, appointed him to preside over a court-martial. The decision did not meet with the favor of the chief, and he ordered a reconsideration and reversal of proceedings. Colonel Slaughter declined to comply, saying: "I know my duty, and have performed it." Jackson's esteem was not lessened by the manliness of the answer.

His gallantry at New Orleans brought the name of Colonel Slaughter prominently to political notice, and the next year, 1816, he was nominated and elected lieutenant-governor, on the ticket with George Madison for governor. Madison was not destined to wear the civic honors which an ardent constituency had woven



GABRIEL SLAUGHTER,
Eleventh Governor of Kentucky.

to crown him. He died in October, a few months after the election. Slaughter succeeded him, and was duly installed as governor. An active opposition party made an open issue of the question as to whether the lieutenant-governor was eligible to become governor by succession, under the Constitution, or that a successor should be chosen at an election to be called by act of the Legislature. There had been no precedent to this date. The question was fiercely agitated, in and out of the legislative halls, during two years of the executive term, before a subsidence of partisan feeling ended the contest. Governor Slaughter held firmly to his convictions of constitutional right, came safely through the angry waves of opposition, and served out his term of four years with credit to himself and the Commonwealth. The question was settled by this precedent, no more to be raised, that, under the constitutional provisions then in force, the lieutenant-governor should succeed to the office of governor upon the "death, resignation, or refusal to qualify" of the governor-elect.

On the expiration of his term Governor Slaughter retired to his country home, and resumed his occupation as a farmer, leading a quiet and useful citizen life until the end. He died at his home in 1830, aged sixty-three years.

KENTUCKY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR OF 1812-15.

It is worthy of mention to the credit of Kentucky that, with a population of four hundred thousand, she furnished for the nation's defense, during the three years of war with England and the savages who allied with her, forty regiments of volunteer militia, besides a number of battalions and companies, over twenty-four thousand men in all, from 1812 to 1815. Excepting a small force of volunteers from the then Territory of Ohio, and a few regulars, her troops made up the entire body of the army of General Harrison in the Northwest campaign, ending with the decisive and crushing victory at the battle of Thames River, over the combined army of British under General Proctor, and Indians under Tecumseh. That battle was fought and won by the impetuous charges of the Kentuckians, under Colonel Richard M. Johnson, against the Indians, and his brother, Colonel James Johnson, against the British, before the forces in the rear, mainly Kentuckians also, could be brought into action. Before Commodore Perry met the English fleet on Lake Erie, he called for one hundred riflemen from Harrison's army to perch upon the masts and rigging of his ships, as sharpshooters, to pick off the seamen and gunners from the enemy's decks. One hundred Kentuckians

volunteered in this perilous service, and others vied with them the honors of the place, though all were landsmen and strangers to the sea. The British commodore made a similar call on Proctor's men and Tecumseh's Indians, but none cared to confront the dangers of such a service. The fleets coming to close quarters, the deadly fire of the riflemen in the rigging helped to strew the decks of the enemy's ships with dead and wounded, and to silence the guns by shooting down the gunners.

APPENDIX

LIST OF KENTUCKIANS IN THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

I

ROLL OF FIELD AND STAFF, MITCHUSSON'S REGIMENT OF KENTUCKY DETACHED MILITIA, WAR OF 1812, COMMANDED BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM MITCHUSSON

WILLIAM MITCHUSSON, Lieut.-colonel.	WILLIAM PRINCE, Paymaster.
SAMUEL PARKER, Lieutenant-colonel.	JOHN C. PENTECOST, Surgeon.
REUBEN HARRISON, Major.	STEPHEN C. DORRIS, Surgeon's Mate.
THOMPSON CRENSHAW, Major.	ISAAC CALDWELL, Sergeant-major.
JOSIAH RAMSEY, Adjutant.	MOSES THOMPSON, Quartermaster-sergt.
CHRISTOPHER G. HONTS, Quartermaster.	JOHNSON LOUGHLIN, Fife Major.

CAPTAIN THOMAS GRIFFIN'S COMPANY

THOMAS GRIFFIN, Captain.	WILLIAM BAIRD, Corporal.
BOSWELL PULLIAM, Lieutenant.	JOHN O'NEAL, Corporal.
ALLEN HAYS, Ensign.	JONATHAN EWBANK, Corporal.
DAVENPORT VENABLE, Sergeant.	ALEXANDER CHAMBERS, Corporal.
TERENCE KIRBY, Sergeant.	JAMES C. PULLIAM, Drummer.
SIMEON ACTON, Sergeant.	JOSEPH RIGHT, Fifer.
SAMUEL SPILMAN, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Brown, James,	Dobson, Thomas,	Horton, Daniel,
Baird, David,	Dry, John,	Hamilton, Robert,
Bigsby, John,	Deal, Henry,	Hoofman, Elam,
Biggs, David,	Doke, William,	Huckaboy, Joseph,
Berry, John,	Dowell, David,	Huckaboy, Nathan,
Button, John,	Emberton, John,	James, Jacob,
Button, Zachæus,	Fraley, Nicholas,	Jackson, Elijah,
Bardwell, James,	Garrett, Joseph,	Johnson, Luther,
Bass, Isaac,	Grisane, Samuel,	Johnson, Robert,
Creek, David,	Gibson, John,	Kirby, John,
Chayson, David,	Gressom, Thomas,	Kirby, Leonard,
Cowin, James,	Hobach, Mark,	Kirby, Isaiah,
Cowen, John,	Highsmith, William,	Lee, Mathias,

Miller, Samuel,	Ragland, Benjamin,	Wetherspoon, James,
Morris, Miles,	Sayres, John,	Williams, Milam,
Meadows, Jesse,	Stovall, Dury,	Weatherspoon, Wiley,
Noles, Robert,	Seagrave, John,	Welch, Thomas,
Nelson, William,	Springer, John,	Weatherspoon, Major,
Oliver, Dury,	Slaton, Ezekiel,	Wooten, Daniel,
Pruett, Moses,	Stamp, Charles,	Wiley, John,
Pinkerton, James,	Thompson, John,	Wildman, Burnell.
Rigsby, John,		

CAPTAIN ROBERT SMITH'S COMPANY

ROBERT SMITH, Captain.	WILLIAM SANDEFEW, Sergeant.
MORTON A. RUCKER, Lieutenant.	CHRISTOPHER HARDESTY, Corporal.
ASA TURNER, Ensign.	CHARLES W. BROWN, Corporal.
THOMAS KILGORE, Sergeant.	JAMES MILLER, Corporal.
PETER CASH, Sergeant.	JAMES BRUNTS, Corporal.
DANIEL POWELL, Sergeant.	SAMUEL SKINNER, Drummer.
JOHN PETERS, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Arnet, William,	Gillum, William H.,	McCoy, James,
Butler, Samuel,	Gibson, John,	Pullom, John,
Barnes, John,	Hawthorn, Robert,	Parrick, Thomas,
Bramley, Daniel,	Holifield, William,	Rolls, Abijah,
Capps, Joshua,	Hardin, Ennis,	Read, James R.,
Crabtree, John F.,	Hardesty, Clemons,	Stephens, George,
Clements, John,	Hendrix, Thomas,	Smith, Matthew,
Crabtree, James,	Keatch, Ovid,	Skillett, Thomas,
Calender, Isaac,	Lambert, Joel,	Sutherland, Ransom,
Cross, Joseph,	Lambert, William,	Scott, James W.,
Ducate, James,	Mayo, John,	Stephens, Jesse,
Dixon, Payne,	Martin, Daniel,	Tarpin, William,
Ezell, Harrison,	Miller, William,	Weathers, John,
Fickas, John,	McNamer, Philip,	Wiggins, Joshua.
Fugudy, Benjamin,	McGraw, John,	

CAPTAIN THOMAS STERRETT'S COMPANY

THOMAS STERRETT, Captain.	DAVID C. FEELDING, Sergeant.
JOHN AUSTIN, Lieutenant.	THOMAS BRIDGES, Corporal.
HENRY HINES, Ensign.	NATHAN JOHNSON, Corporal.
JOHN BREWER, Sergeant.	STEPHEN WADE, Corporal.
NATHAN YOUNG, Sergeant.	JOHN COSTLOW, Drummer.
JAMES B. REVILL, Sergeant.	BENJAMIN TEMPLER, Fifer.
NICHOLAS KING, Sergeant.	

Appendix

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PRIVATE

Bratton, George,	Harris, Elijah,	Newman, Jacob,
Brown, Henry,	Hendrick, James,	Newman, William,
Condra, William,	Holloway, Thomas,	Owensby, Nicholas,
Carter, William,	Harlan, George,	Pollard, Elijah,
Coal, Joseph,	Jenkins, Samuel,	Paulk, Moses,
Calvert, John,	Johnson, Richard,	Pitman, William,
Cunningham, Brackett C.,	Kown, William,	Roundtree, Turner,
Dawson, James,	Kown, Nathan,	Roundtree, Kelly B.,
Dawson, Jonas,	Kimble, William S.,	Strader, John,
Dawson, John,	Kidwell, James,	Stroude, Doran,
Dawson, Johnson,	Kelsey, David,	Stagner, Jeremiah,
Davis, Thomas,	Lawrence, James H.,	Summons, George,
Evans, Richard,	Long, Abner,	Stone, John,
Ethell, James,	Marshall, James,	Stroud, John,
Forkner, Martin,	Mannon, Thomas,	Templer, Jesse,
Fegert, Alexander,	Moge, Jacob,	Thompson, Edward,
Franklin, Stephen,	McClammon, James W.,	Wilkinson, James,
Galloway, William,	McClammon, John S.,	Wood, Mark D.,
Hay, James S.,	Miller, Philip,	Wood, William,
Heavener, John,	Mannon, William,	Wiley, Elijah,
Hammond, Thomas,	McMurry, William,	Whitlow, Henry.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL F. MALONE'S COMPANY

SAMUEL F. MALONE, Captain.	ABNER WELLS, Corporal.
ELIAS BUTTON, Lieutenant.	HEZEKIAH LARD, Corporal.
DENNIS COCHRAN, Ensign.	JAMES GASH, Corporal.
MATTHEW SIMON, Sergeant.	JAMES BLACK, Corporal.
CORNELIUS MANLEY, Sergeant.	JESSE PULLIAM, Drummer.
JAMES MCALISTER, Sergeant.	JAMES ROBERTSON, Fifer.
ROBERT T. ANDERSON, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Alexander, Thomas,	Dishmore, William,	Greathouse, Hiram,
Brown, William,	Duff, Fielding,	Garrison, David,
Berry, Moses,	Denison, Zade,	Harris, John L.,
Blair, Andrew,	Dewesse, Elisha,	Huffman, Cornelius,
Bagman, James,	Dunagan, Thomas,	Howell, Hudson,
Bloyd, John,	Emerson, William,	Handy, Jesse,
Clark, Roderick,	Edgar, Josiah,	Hardin, Thomas,
Clark, Joseph,	Edgar, Johnson,	Hoge, Edmund,
Chapman, Job,	Ellis, Hercules,	Johnson, John,
Dishmore, James,	Farley, Clay,	Jenkins, William,

Lewis, Charles,	O'Neal, Bennett,	Scott, Joseph,
Lyon, William,	Owens, William,	Tribble, Harris,
Logsdon, John,	Pickett, John,	Thacker, Allen,
Merritt, John,	Pulliam, John,	Taylor, James,
McKinney, Charles W.,	Penick, James,	Taylor, Isaac,
Mitchell, James,	Roundtree, Henry,	Williams, William,
Newell, John,	Reed, William,	Wheeler, Bond,
Nunegard, William,	Scott, Robert,	Young, Asa.
Nation, Laban,	Sutterfield, Eli,	

CAPTAIN JOHN C. DODD'S COMPANY

JOHN C. DODD, Captain.	WILLIAM STORY, Sergeant.
WILLIAM HARRALL, Lieutenant.	BENJAMIN D. CERBY, Corporal.
BERT MOORE, Ensign.	MAHALA INGRAM, Corporal.
ROGER FILLEY, Sergeant.	JOHN SULLIVAN, Corporal.
JORDAN MCVAY, Sergeant.	ROBERT RICHEY, Corporal.
HIRAM PRUNELL, Sergeant.	FLEMING CASTLEBERG, Drummer.
WILLIAM PERKINS, Sergeant.	WILLIAM LAUGHLIN, Fifer.

PRIVATES

Anderson, Evan,	Gilkey, John,	Nowlin, John,
Baker, Seth,	George, Pallam,	Pickering, William,
Barnett, Samuel,	Hancock, John,	Patterson, Thomas,
Bridges, Thomas,	Hughes, James,	Philips, Samuel S.,
Bridges, William,	Heath, Riland,	Quarles, Stores,
Barton, William,	Hobart, Joseph,	Robison, Kinsey,
Bird, Jacob,	Jenkins, Arthur B.,	Robison, William,
Cammack, William,	Jenkins, Whitenell W.,	Ritchey, Alexander,
Carlew, Henry,	Kenady, William,	Ramage, Benjamin,
Campbell, Lindsey,	Long, William,	Rhinhart, Samuel,
Carter, James,	Leech, Abner,	Robison, Hugh,
Carlew, John,	Lamb, William,	Strawmut, John,
Cannon, Israel,	Leech, Zadock,	Strawmatt, William,
Carlew, Robert,	Law, Samuel,	Saxon, Lewis,
Davidson, Alexander B.,	Love, William,	Smith, Stephen,
Dison, Bennett,	McNabb, John W.,	Stations, Moses,
Drennan, Samuel,	Miller, John,	Trimm, Charles,
Dunn, Alexander,	Moore, Edmund,	Taylor, Solomon,
Duff, James,	Mercer, Drury,	Whitenell, John,
Entricon, John,	McClear, William,	Wadlington, James,
French, Joseph,	McElhana, William,	Wells, Henry,
Green, Levi,	Manas, John,	Witherow, Samuel,
Gaskins, Thadeus,	Neily, John,	Washington, Thomas C.
Green, James,		

CAPTAIN EDWARD WILBURN'S COMPANY

EDWARD WILBURN, Captain.	JAMES WHITE, Sergeant.
JOHN M. CABINESS, Lieutenant.	JAMES YOUNG, Corporal.
JAMES BARRING, Ensign.	JOHN WILLIAMS, Corporal.
CHARLES LEWIS, Sergeant.	WILLIAM BRISTOE, Corporal.
CHARLES LONG, Sergeant.	JOSEPH HOOPER, Corporal.
HOPKINS BOND, Sergeant.	ANDREW TURPIN, Drummer.

PRIVATES

Anderson, James,	French, John,	Newman, Isaac,
Ashlook, Thomas,	Gwinn, Joseph,	Ogden, David,
Agee, William,	Hicks, Richard,	Reynolds, Charles,
Allen, Samuel,	Helms, James,	Richardson, Shaderick,
Bedford, John C.,	Hollett, Solomon,	Reynolds, Amos,
Bunch, Israel,	Jackman, Richard,	Rush, Samuel,
Banning, Clark,	Linsey, Henry,	Staton, Joseph,
Burges, John,	Lynn, James,	Stockton, Jesse,
Belk, John,	Loller, James,	Thurman, William,
Belk, James,	Lynn, Charles,	Thurman, Littleberry,
Craft, Gilbert,	Lewis, John,	Tooly, William,
Cheetham, Hezekiah,	Mitchell, William,	Vann, John,
Carpenter, James,	Moody, John,	Venable, Daniel,
Craft, George,	Murry, John,	Wilburn, William,
Condrey, Elifus,	Minst, Francis,	Winfrey, William,
Dohirty, Alexander,	McElvain, Samuel,	Young, Robert.
Eldridge, William,	Nell, Philip,	

CAPTAIN ROBERT PAXTON'S COMPANY

ROBERT PAXTON, Captain.	JAMES ARMES, Sergeant.
DANIEL ZIBB, Lieutenant.	ARCHIBALD RHEA, Corporal.
WILLIAM RHEA, Ensign.	ASHBY JONES, Corporal.
WILLIAM P. MONTGOMERY, Sergeant.	WILLIAM HOGAN, Corporal.
CAMPBELL GILMORE, Sergeant.	ANTHONY DAVIS, Corporal.
ISHAM READY, Sergeant.	ALLEN MILLER, Rt. W. M.
ALEXANDER BROWNLEE, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Atwell, Richard,	Barrett, Thompson,	Cunningham, James,
Berry, Franklin,	Broner, William,	Caldwell, Andrew,
Butler, Nathan,	Byes, Armstrong,	Duncan, James,
Buckingham, Peter,	Batron, Robert,	Dobson, Joseph,
Baker, William,	Calhoun, John,	Dobson, Robert,

Faris, John,	Lisle, Peter,	Riley, William,
Gillingham, John,	Lile, Vincent,	Russell, Joseph,
Gooch, William,	Lemons, Isaac,	Ray, John,
Good, William,	Montgomery, Robert M.,	Raffity, John,
Hampton, Stephen,	Morr, William,	Smith, Isaac,
Harvey, John,	Montgomery, Cyrus,	Skaggs, Charles,
Hays, Campbell,	Moseby, Micajah,	Smith, Thomas,
Hays, James I.,	McDaniel, William,	Smith, Samuel,
Hays, Andrew E.,	McKinsley, William,	Stearman, William,
Hunt, James,	Mathews, Samuel,	Tribble, Absalom,
Hayes, James,	McMillan, Joseph M.,	White, John D.,
Hogan, Nathan,	Morris, John,	Waggoner, Willis,
Helton, Thomas,	Ormes, Elly, jr.,	White, John C.,
Hogan, John,	Ormes, Nathan,	Wilson, Thomas,
Isaacs, Samuel,	Ormes, Elly,	Woodard, Abraham,
Janes, Berry,	Ormes, Nathan,	White, John,
Lampton, Jesse,	Price, Robert,	Wheeler, Charles.
Lumpkin, Abraham,		

CAPTAIN JAMES ROBISON'S COMPANY

JAMES ROBISON, Captain.	KARR HICKS, Sergeant.
LUKE NICHOLAS, Lieutenant.	DUNCAN CAMPBELL, Corporal.
GEORGE NEGLEY, Ensign.	EDWARD ROBISON, Corporal.
THOMAS ARMSTRONG, Sergeant.	AARON STALLINGS, Corporal.
LILY SULLIVAN, Sergeant.	ROBERT WILLIAMS, Corporal.
SAMUEL ELISON, Sergeant.	GEORGE LACEY, Fifer.
JAMES ALEXANDER, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Alexander, John,	Edwards, Edward,	Messick, George,
Aainsworth, Joseph,	Ferguson, William,	Morris, Ely,
Baker, Thomas,	Filson, Jesse,	Messimore, George,
Britt, Robert,	George, James,	Malin, Thomas,
Barnes, Thomas B.,	Gare, Isaac,	Mitchell, William,
Byle, John H.,	Gibson, Meredith,	Mesamore, Jacob,
Blakeley, Samuel,	Grace, Henry,	Nickson, William,
Boreland, Samuel,	Hamby, James,	Pyle, William,
Coleran, Alexander,	Hunter, David,	Pyle, David,
Coleman, Robert M.,	Hunter, William,	Stutt, Nicholas,
Cravins, Jesse,	Henderson, Ezekiel,	Shelton, Elijah,
Dunn, Richard,	Handy, Benjamin,	Shelton, William,
Dinsmore, Jacob,	Hardin, Samuel,	Shelton, Abraham,
Davis, Clem,	Hardin, Benjamin,	Savage, William M.,
Davis, Joseph,	Inman, Thomas,	Shelton, Joseph,
Darneal, Thomas,	Lancaster, Henry,	Shelton, Robert,

Smith, Samuel,	Thompson, John,	Thomas, James,
Smith, Cloud,	Threet, James,	Tell, Joseph,
Sullivan, Levi,	Thradford, Walker,	Wingard, David.
Thompson, Lawson,		

CAPTAIN ALMY McLEAN'S COMPANY

ALMY McLEAN, Captain.	JORDAN O'BRIEN, Sergeant.
EPHRAIM M. BRANK, Lieutenant.	JAMES LANGLEY, Corporal.
WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Lieutenant.	MOSES MATTHEWS, Corporal.
ISAAC DAVIS, Ensign.	EDWARD H. TARRANTS, Corporal.
JOHN STULL, Sergeant.	GEORGE HILL, Corporal.
HENRY NUSELL, Sergeant.	ABNER B. C. DILLINGHAM, Fifer.
ENOCH METCALF, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Apling, Henry,	Fowler, Jeremiah,	Martin, John,
Anderson, John, jr.,	Gany, Matthew,	Macons, Peter,
Allen, Linsey,	Gant, Thomas,	Nanny, Spencer,
Anderson, John,	Gamblin, John,	Norris, Thomas,
Allison, McLean,	Grayham, William,	Nixon, James,
Bishop, James,	Hewlett, Thomas,	Penrod, George,
Barker, Samuel,	Hines, John,	Ripple, Michael,
Bone, Cornelius,	Howard, Isaac,	Row, Adam,
Bonds, Lott,	Hensley, Leftridge,	Ripple, Jacob,
Carter, James,	Hewlett, Lemuel,	Rhodes, Bradford,
Craig, John,	Hubbard, Liner,	Sever, Michael,
Combs, Jesse,	Jains, Edward,	Sumner, Thomas,
Cob, Elijah,	Kern, George,	Sumner, William,
Craig, Robert,	Kennedy, George F.,	Sunn, John F.,
Crouch, Isaac,	Lott, James,	Sanders, George,
Claxton, Jeremiah,	Lynn, Gasham,	Voris, John,
Dewitt, William,	Lynn, Henry,	Wilcox, Elias,
Donnald, James,	Leece, Samuel,	Williams, Noah,
Evans, James,	McGill, James,	Wade, Hendley,
Ferguson, John K.,	Moore, Thomas,	Wilson, John,
Foley, Mason,	Matthews, Jacob,	Williams, William,
Fox, Nathan,	McFerson, James,	Yaunce, Lawrence.

CAPTAIN ROBERT PATTERSON'S COMPANY

ROBERT PATTERSON, Captain.	FRANCIS PORTER, Sergeant.
JOHN HENRY, Lieutenant.	GEORGE HICKMAN, Corporal.
JAMES PORTER, Ensign.	ALLEN KUYKENDALL, Corporal.
ALLEN CARTER, Sergeant.	WILLIAM BAILEY, Corporal.
GEORGE T. ASHBURN, Sergeant.	ROBERT HENRY, Corporal.
GRAVES GUNN, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Albert, Jacob,	Ford, John,	Mann, John,
Allen, Andrew,	Farmer, Gray B.,	Miller, John,
Barrett, Enoch D.,	Glistler, Thomas,	Mitchell, Blake,
Brian, William,	Gist, William,	Neebart, Alexander,
Barringer, Jonathan,	Gidcomb, John,	Page, William,
Barnett, James,	Gibson, Jordan,	Porter, Oliver,
Brown, Richard,	Gilky, Thomas,	Ralls, Robert,
Burchfield, Thomas,	Henderson, Carnes D.,	Ralls, Green,
Brown, William,	Haney, Joseph,	Smith, Ezekiel,
Brown, Jimmy,	Hodge, Nathan,	Sears, Abraham,
Bailey, James,	Hadden, William,	Smith, Joseph,
Clawson, John,	Hunsucker, Samuel,	Smith, Asa,
Collins, Dixon,	Holley, William,	Steele, Moses,
Coleman, Archibald,	Jameson, Andrew,	Thomas, John,
Clevenger, Asa,	Kown, Andrew,	Thomas, Thomas,
Caradine, David,	Kenedy, Neil,	Taylor, Peter,
Cooksey, Warren,	Kuykendall, Mark,	Tannehill, Benjamin,
Collins, Hollen,	Larkins, Joseph,	Williams, David,
Carlisle, Mathew,	Land, Lewis,	Wheeler, Seburn,
Diamond, John,	Land, Moses,	Woods, William,
Diamond, James,	Morris, William,	Wilson, Benjamin,
Elam, John,	McFarland, William D.,	Wood, Peter.
Finley, Andrew,	Moore, Jeremiah,	

II

ROLL OF FIELD AND STAFF, SLAUGHTER'S REGIMENT, KENTUCKY DETACHED MILITIA, WAR OF 1812, COMMANDED BY LIEU- TENANT-COLONEL GABRIEL SLAUGHTER

GABRIEL SLAUGHTER, Lieutenant-colonel.	GEORGE C. BERRY, S. Mate.
LANTY ARMSTRONG, First Major.	THOMAS CURRY, Sergeant-major.
WILLIAM WAKEFIELD, Second Major.	STROTHER H. GAINES, Quartermaster- sergeant.
SAMUEL MACOUN, Lieutenant.	JOHN THOMPSON, Assistant Quarterm'r.
WILLIAM RODES, Lieutenant.	THOMAS WITHER, Fife Major.
ROGER THOMPSON, Lieutenant.	ABNER DECKER, Drum Major.
HORATIO GAITHER, Surgeon.	
ROBERT H. C. PEARSON, S. Mate.	

CAPTAIN GEORGE MCAFEE'S COMPANY

GEORGE MCAFEE, Captain.	SAMUEL R. TROUER, Sergeant.
WILLIAM BOHAN, Lieutenant.	JOHN COCHRAN, Sergeant.
JOHN M. JORDAN, Ensign.	ANDERSON POWERS, Corporal.
JOHN LEWIS, Orderly Sergeant.	DANIEL BOHAN, Corporal.
JULIUS RUCKER, Sergeant.	DANIEL HAY, Corporal.
JAMES PIERSON, Sergeant.	THOMAS ROBARDS, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Adams, Alexander,	Cooney, James,	Horn, Philip,
Barnes, Zachariah,	Cooney, Daniel,	Hall, Barnet,
Brim, Landy,	Davis, George,	Johnston, William,
Brown, Thomas,	Dean, William,	Jones, William,
Bunton, Samuel,	Dodson, George,	Jones, Thornton,
Bradshaw, James L.,	Dunklin, William,	Kirkham, Joseph,
Berns, Philip,	Ellis, Daniel,	Knox, George C.,
Bryant, Daniel,	Foreman, Jacob,	Kirkpatrick, James,
Bradley, Jacob,	Goodnight, Alexander,	Lytle, Lewis,
Barclay, David,	Green, William,	Lockhart, Levi,
Cummings, Alexander,	Gilmore, Joseph,	Lewis, Elijah,
Curry, Thomas,	Gabbert, James,	Lister, Cornelius,
Combs, Joseph,	Harlow, Thomas,	Lister, Stephen,
Cummings, Abraham,	Haley, Edmund,	McAfee, Samuel,
Coovert, Simon,	Hulton, John,	McDonald, Clement,
Curry, James,	Horn, John,	McCoy, Joseph,

McMinny, William,	Ruby, Jacob,	Thompson, George P.,
Mullikin, John,	Robertson, Samuel,	Toomy, Isaac,
Montfort, Jacob,	Roberts, James,	Thomas, Edmund G.,
Mitchel, Jacob,	Silyers, John,	Voris, John,
Napier, William,	Short, James,	Violet, Sinclair,
Poulter, Joseph,	Short, William,	Walker, John,
Pierson, Joseph,	Shields, William,	Wilson, John H.,
Philips, Aaron,	Sams, Russell,	Wells, John, sr.,
Preston, George,	Sample, James,	Wilson, Anthony,
Quigley, John,	Short, Coleman,	Wells, John, jr.,
Ray, William,	Sally, Rany S.,	Whitberry, Jacob,
Rynierson, Jacob,	Stone, Levi,	Weathers, Thomas,
Rains, Allen,	Thomas, Thompson,	Yest, Jacob.
Roberts, William,	Towner, Samuel,	

CAPTAIN JOHN EVANS' COMPANY

JOHN EVANS, Captain.	GEORGE DUNCAN, Sergeant.
JOHN CUPPINHEIFER, Lieutenant.	JOHN EVANS, Corporal.
ROBERT GILMORE, Ensign.	JOHN BURKE, Corporal.
AARON BARROW, Sergeant.	WILLIAM McCULLOUGH, Corporal.
THOMAS GALLIWAY, Sergeant.	THOMAS NICHOLS, Corporal.
JOSEPH HEDRICK, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Barker, Thomas,	Fitzpatrick, Samuel,	Hedrick, Jacob, sr.,
Bebber, John,	Fitzpatrick, George,	Hanes, Ezekiah,
Beadle, Seaton,	Gough, John,	Hunt, William,
Barnet, James,	Gilmore, William,	Hamilton, James,
Barnet, Jubille,	Griffin, John,	Humphries, David,
Bowmer, William,	Gregory, Samuel,	Hunt, Samuel,
Barns, Mathew,	Hargus, Thomas,	Johnson, James,
Burman, James,	Herrin, Joel,	James, Daniel F.,
Bowen, William,	Hendrickson, Thomas,	Jasper, Andrew,
Briant, Morgan,	Hendrickson, Gibson,	McAllister, John,
Collins, Andrew,	Hardister, William,	Moody, Martin,
Dishmon, James,	Hargus, John,	McCarty, William,
Dick, Archibald,	Harp, Westley,	McCan, William,
Dove, James,	Harmons, Jesse,	McKaughan, William,
Evans, John,	Hedrick, Jacob, jr.,	Neal, Isaac,
Elkins, Richard,	Hudson, Robert,	Preston, William,
Floyd, Thomas,	Hudson, Manoah,	Price, John,

Reagan, William,
Ridge, Robertson,
Riley, William,
Sneed, John,
Stroud, Ansel,
Tartar, Frederick,

White, Edward,
White, Elisha,
Woolsey, Thomas,
White, David,
Weatherman, Simon,

Wilson, Bird,
Weddle, George,
Weddle, John,
Wright, Walter,
White, John.

CAPTAIN LEONARD P. HIGDON'S COMPANY

LEONARD P. HIGDON, Captain.

DAVID HUSTON, Lieutenant.

JOHN YOUNG, Ensign.

SAMUEL HANDLEY, Orderly Sergeant.

WILLIAM BAILEY, First Sergeant.

BARTON HAWLEY, Second Sergeant.

FRANCIS HAGAN, Third Sergeant.

JAMES W. TYLER, Fourth Sergeant.

ISAAC ANDERSON, Corporal.

JAMES MCDANIEL, Corporal.

HENRY HOLTZCLAW, Corporal.

NATHANIEL HARRIS, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Audd, Ambrose,
Anderson, Samuel,
Bredwell, Noah,
Bowl, James,
Burkhead, Isaac,
Blanford, Francis,
Baldwin, McKinsey,
Bishop, Solomon,
Brown, Frederick,
Blann, James,
Burkhead, Basil,
Basey, Jesse,
Bevin, Walter,
Bean, Judson,
Baldwin, Samuel,
Brown, James,
Connor, James,
Clark, Zacheus,
Cissel, James,
Coffman, Michael,
Calvert, Thomas,
Cane, Michael,
Clark, John,
Clemens, Thomas,
Connell, Hiram,

Connolly, Basil,
Cosby, Overton,
Clark, Abner,
DeMorgan, Reuben N.,
Drake, Jacob,
Dunn, Simpson,
Davis, Lemuel,
David, Amos,
Elliot, Greenbury,
Foxworthy, George,
Fox, William,
Fowler, Thomas,
Gibson, Henry,
Hanon, Ezekiel,
Harrison, Grove,
Hansford, William,
Hagerman, Tunis,
Higdon, James,
Hibbs, John,
Hall, Philip,
Knott, Henry,
Lefler, John,
Lent, William,
Lane, Benjamin,
McDaniel, Redman,

McLaughlin, Jesse,
Malon, Jacob,
McDaniel, William,
Miles, Francis,
Magnill, Richard,
McDaniel, John,
Osborn, Samuel,
Parrish, Francis,
Popham, Hawkins,
Popham, William,
Paul, James,
Polk, James,
Rynearson, Peter,
Roberts, George,
Rozner, William,
Smither, Joel,
Smith, John,
Turner, Joseph,
Vinson, George,
Witherton, John,
Wise, John,
Wise, Joseph,
Watson, Joseph,
Wilson, Benjamin

CAPTAIN JONATHAN OWSLEY'S COMPANY

JONATHAN OWSLEY, Captain.	JOHN GILBREATH, Sergeant.
LOFTIS COOK, Lieutenant.	JOHN WOOD, Sergeant.
STEPHEN LYONS, Ensign.	WILLIAM FORSYTHE, Corporal.
SAMUEL P. MAGILL, Sergeant.	ROBERT BRYANT, Corporal.
HENRY SHARP, Sergeant.	JOHN HUFF, Corporal.
JOHN LOGAN, Sergeant.	THOMAS SCOTT, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Adams, Edward,	Ervin, Francis,	McManny, Charles,
Bettis, John,	Edwards, Peter,	Newcomb, Wilson,
Bower, Francis,	Forsythe, David,	Nelly, Edward,
Bryant, William,	Goodnight, John,	Oalder, Jonathan,
Burnett, Nicholas,	Gooch, Roland,	Pettit, Walker,
Berry, Labon S.,	Gibson, John,	Pence, John,
Ball, Isaiah,	Gill, Angel,	Parsons, Obediah,
Brook, John,	Hill, Zachariah,	Prewitt, David,
Baldwin, Joseph.	Hotzclaw, Benjamin,	Ray, Joseph,
Burton, William,	Hackley, James,	Renalds, Fountain,
Bowman, Jacob,	Hair, John,	Roberts, James,
Breden, James,	Hutson, Lodrick,	Ross, Thomas J.,
Coombs, John,	Harvey, James W.,	Raybourne, John,
Cox, Leroy,	Haynes, James,	Simpson, John,
Cavanaugh, Philemon,	Holmes, George,	Sutton, Walker,
Cash, William,	Hall, James,	Souder, Jefferson,
Dudarar, Coonrod,	Jackson, William,	Spratt, Thomas,
Dudar, William,	Low, Thomas,	Singleton, McIntire,
Dodson, Thomas,	Lavinder, John,	Stephens, John,
Davis, Nathan,	Lawrence, Hugh,	Singleton, Thomas,
Doolin, James,	Lynn, James,	Tedrick, Jacob,
Davis, John,	Martin, William,	Warden, William,
Dasswell, Jesse,	McRoberts, Andrew,	Wade, Jeremiah,
Duncan, William,	McMullen, John,	Wood, William,
Embree, Elijah,	McCrutcheon, William,	Warren, Burris.
Etone, Elijah,		

CAPTAIN JOHN FARMER'S COMPANY

JOHN FARMER, Captain.	ISAAC HOUSTON, Second Sergeant.
WILLOUGHBY ASHBY, Lieutenant.	OWEN R. GRIFFITH, Third Sergeant.
JOHN FIGG, Ensign.	CORCELIUS WOODS, Fourth Sergeant.
JESSE KEETH, First Sergeant.	SAMUEL HEFFLER, First Corporal.
DAVID WELLER, First Sergeant.	BARNARD BRIDWELL, Second Corporal.
ISAAC CHAMBERS, First Sergeant.	GEORGE WELLER, Third Corporal.

PRIVATES

Angel, George,	Gilkey, William,	Medcalf, Benjamin,
Anderson, Thomas,	Grubb, William,	Marshall, Daniel,
Anderson, John,	Glass, James H.,	Miller, Frederick,
Berton, William,	Hampton, David,	Micater, Patrick,
Bright, John,	Hill, Robert,	Philips, George,
Brown, Robert,	Harden, John,	Powers, Richard,
Bennett, Jerry,	Huffman, George,	Reed, Richard,
Brewer, James,	Hagan, Dory,	Robinson, Alexander,
Boly, Peter,	Ice, James,	Spilman, Henry,
Carter, William,	Jones, Joseph,	Springston, Abraham,
Carico, James,	Jones, John,	Sinkhorn, William,
Chaplain, Jerry,	Johnston, William,	Shaream, George,
Carter, Samuel,	Johnston, Joseph,	Seals, John,
Carter, Joseph,	Kenny, William,	Thompson, James,
Conor, George,	Keth, Isaac,	Thompson, John,
Cane, Mathew,	Low, Richard,	Walker, Howard,
Doneheu, James,	Lerit, Joseph,	White, John,
Denbow, James,	Lanam, James,	White, Francis,
Davis, Jesse,	Mattingly, Edward,	Wilcox, Isaac,
Dewitt, Abraham,	Medcalf, James,	York, John.
Davis, John,		

CAPTAIN ADAM VICKERY'S COMPANY

ADAM VICKERY, Captain.	ALEXANDER BROWN, Sergeant.
JOHN GARNER, Lieutenant.	HARMAN ELROD, Sergeant.
JOHN BARROW, Ensign.	WILLIAM HURT, Corporal.
HIRAM GREGORY, Sergeant.	GEORGE DODSON, Corporal.
THOMAS BROWN, Sergeant.	THOMAS RYON, Corporal.
MOSES BARNES, Sergeant.	LAPSLY HALL, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Ard, James,	Barnes, Enos,	Dean, James,
Andrew, Alexander,	Brown, Lewis,	Davis, William,
Acre, Peter,	Brown, Barnabus,	Dabney, Charles,
Burnham, Owen,	Butrim, Cornelius,	Elrod, Adam,
Bell, John,	Craig, John H.,	Foster, John,
Ballard, John,	Casson, John,	Gray, Jesse,
Burnet, James,	Caughorn, William,	Gholson, Samuel,
Baker, James,	Cook, Enos,	Gibson, Stephen,
Baker, Stephen,	Cox, David,	Gooding, Abraham,
Barnes, William,	Cooper, Caleb,	Gibson, Thomas,
Bowman, Willis,	Duffey, John,	Hains, John,

Hill, William,	Mays, David,	Sallee, William I.,
Hall, Henry,	Neal, Jesse,	Tiller, John,
Hill, Claiborn,	Pow, Alexander,	Thornton, John,
Keniday, John,	Ray, John,	Thomas, Samuel,
Kogan, William,	Southword, John,	Wade, John,
Lea, John,	Shaw, John,	Willice, John,
Luster, John,	Shelton, John,	Woods, James,
Lenn, James,	Savage, John,	Welsher, Joshua,
Lambert, Henry,	Shelton, James,	West, Joseph,
Livingston, Robert,	Smith, William,	Welsher, Josiah,
Miller, George,	Stephens, Peter,	West, Alexander,
McGown, Solomon,	Smith, Henry,	Wade, Elisha,
Mills, Ulissius,	Stephens, Thomas,	Wray, Daniel,
Moore, David,	Smith, George,	Wallace, Barnabus.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WOOD'S COMPANY

WILLIAM WOOD, Captain.	ISAAC THERMAN, Sergeant.
PETER OATMAN, Lieutenant.	THOMAS JONES, Sergeant.
THOMAS BROWN, Ensign.	JOHN MCKINSEY, Corporal.
HENRY ROBINSON, Sergeant.	JOHN ALLEN, Corporal.
ABSALOM RICE, Sergeant.	SIMON MOBELY, Corporal.
GEORGE HERRING, Sergeant.	JOHN BOURNE, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Anderson, Garland,	Davidson, John,	Huffman, Henry,
Anderson, Thomas,	Duggins, Richard,	Henderson, Joseph,
Adams, John,	Dooly, Jacob,	Hicks, Fleming,
Blankenship, John,	Duncan, George,	Hoskins, Samuel,
Brown, Stanton,	Dotson, Thomas,	Holmes, Isaac,
Bailey, Lewis,	Edens, Mathew,	Jackman, Thomas,
Beech, Joel,	Elliott, Reuben,	Lampton, William,
Brown, William,	Erton, Henry,	McMeas, Jacob,
Burton, Allen,	Graham, Robinson,	Martendale, Moses,
Brown, Edwin,	Gill, John,	McFadgin, James,
Barron, Mathias,	Greenstaff, George,	Moore, Moses,
Barker, Richard,	Garvin, William,	Miller, James,
Boadly, Peter D.,	Green, Thomas,	Mayfield, Sutherland,
Brown, John,	Gromer, Henry,	Naylor, Jesse,
Clements, Thomas,	Gayheart, Isaac,	Newcomb, Lance,
Coy, Samuel,	Hotsclaw, Martin,	Naylor, George T.,
Chambers, Abraham,	Horley, William,	Naylor, John,
Coy, Thomas,	Hurd, William,	Pow, William,
Clark, William,	Hay, Isaac,	Pollard, Abner,

Preston, John,	Thacker, Elijah,	Wiley, Benjamin,
Pucket, William,	Turpin, James,	Woodal, John,
Spencer, John,	Tarrent, Larkin,	Warmouth, Thomas,
Stone, James,	Tunget, Benjamin,	Warmouth, Githean,
Stanton, Fleming,	Vance, Jacob,	Williams, Oscar,
Skiler, John,	Weather, John,	Williams, George,
Stephens, William,	Warren, Joseph,	Yancy, George.
Stephens, ———,		

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WADE'S COMPANY

WILLIAM WADE, Captain.	JOHN SPEARS, Sergeant.
JOHN RIFFE, Lieutenant.	JOHN SHANNON, Sergeant.
MATHEW COFFEE, Ensign.	WILLIAM JONES, Corporal.
DAVID JOHNSON, Sergeant.	JOHN ESTIS, Corporal.
JOSHUA MOORE, Sergeant.	STARLING COULTER, Corporal.
JOHN D. THURMOND, Sergeant.	JACOB CUNNINGHAM, Corporal.

PRIVATES

(Obinion or) Albanion, Geo.	Figg, William,	Ragsdale, Gabriel,
Barnett, Skuyler,	Gentry, Benjamin,	Royaltree, William,
Carmen, William,	Gee, John,	Riffe, Abraham,
Curdum, William,	Hite, Burton,	Reed, Philip,
Coxe, Joseph,	Harvey, Robert,	Routsaw, Coonrod,
Carter, Moses,	Harvel, Squire,	Raglin, James,
Cloyd, Joseph,	Hutcherson, Samuel,	Reed, Little B.,
Charlton, Levi,	Johnson, Luke,	Studer, David,
Coulter, Morris,	King, Thomas,	Seabron, Jehu,
Carman, Ezekiah,	Linthicum, Thomas,	Stepp, William,
Clifton, Nehemiah,	Lee, Francis,	Selch, Nicholas,
Clifton, Isaiah,	Lee, Joseph P.,	Skidmore, John,
Cinkhous, Henry,	McCutchan, Samuel,	Snow, John,
Cunningham, Thomas,	Minor, Laban,	Studor, Randal,
Clark, Thomas,	Mason, James,	Stanton, William,
Dyer, William,	McWherton, Jesse,	Thomas, Robert,
Duncan, Flemmin,	Mason, Thomas,	Tailor, Jacob,
Dobbs, William,	McCan, William,	Vorus, Abraham,
Drummond, James,	Mason, Thomson,	Vantres, Jacob,
Davenport, Thomas,	Northcut, Arthur,	Williams, Amos,
East, Nimrod,	Noble, Thomas,	Wright, Bennett C.,
Ewebank, James,	Pankey, John B.,	Whitesides, David,
Ecten, Charles,	Price, Robert,	Williams, Richard,
Edwards, Aaron,	Royaltree, Henry,	Yager, Lewis.
Ellis, John,	Riffe, Christopher,	

CAPTAIN EDWARD BERRY'S COMPANY

EDWARD BERRY, Captain.	CHARLES FOWLER, Sergeant.
DAVID RODMAN, Lieutenant.	JOHN AUSTIN, Sergeant.
THOMAS MCINTIRE, Ensign.	ANDREW POWEL, Sergeant.
STEPHEN THOMPSON, Sergeant.	JOEL NELSON, Sergeant.
GEORGE ELLIOTT, Sergeant.	PHILIP RICHARDSON, Sergeant.
STARLING THOMPSON, Sergeant.	JOHN MCCLURE, Sergeant.

PRIVATES

Adams, Henry,	Higgins, David,	Nelson, William,
Burns, Isaac,	Jackson, James,	Oldridge, Nathaniel,
Bennett, George W.,	Lockett, Samuel,	Prewitt, Daniel,
Baker, James,	Lannom, Lewis,	Prater, Reson,
Baker, William,	Lawson, Chester,	Richards, Zodick,
Bryan, John,	Lawson, Berry,	Ridge, Cornelius,
Barnett, William,	Lambert, David,	Ridge, William,
Champion, Joseph,	Lannom, Samuel,	Right, Robert,
Cannon, Robert,	Miles, Alexander,	Right, William,
Cogenom, George,	Miller, Joseph,	Reed, Nathan,
Campton, James,	Morgan, Abraham,	Seamster, Pleasant,
Casey, David,	McMurry, Thomas,	Simpson, Floyd,
Catlin, Seth,	Maxwell, Charles,	Stump, Johnston,
Carter, Benjamin,	Morris, Reuben,	Simpson, Asa,
Cross, William,	Matherly, Joel,	Taylor, Jeremiah,
Creagh, Christian,	Malone, William,	Tolby, Jonathan,
Davis, Robert,	Milbourn, Israel,	Whitter, William,
Earl, Samuel,	McMurry, William,	Watham, James H.,
Ferguson, Daniel,	Mann, William,	White, Thomas L.,
Franklin, Edward,	McAllister, James,	Watham, Nicholas,
Graves, John,	Mead, Joseph,	Whitten, Jeremiah,
Hickerson, John,	McMurry, William,	Whitehouse, John,
Hickerson, Joseph,	McAllister, Daniel,	Whitehouse, Cornelius,
Hilton, Henry,	Miles, Edward,	Woods, Henry.
Hart, William,	Montgomery, Thomas,	

CAPTAIN WILLIAM PHILIPS' COMPANY

WILLIAM PHILIPS, Captain.	HENRY COWAN, Sergeant.
GODHART SMACK, Lieutenant.	ROBERT ROCHESTER, Corporal.
JOHN LUDWICK, Ensign.	JOHN GRAYHAM, Corporal.
ASA R. HILL, Sergeant.	JOHN MOBLEY, Corporal.
JOSEPH ABEL, Sergeant.	ROBERT BRUMFIELD, Corporal.
WILLIAM MCENERY, Sergeant.	THOMAS HILL, Musician.
CHARLES COLTER, Sergeant.	WILLIAM VANOV, Musician.

PRIVATES

Anderson, Thomas,
Blaire, James,
Brown, Francis,
Brown, Henderson,
Bullott, John,
Butler, William,
Botains, William, sr.,
Botains, William, jr.,
Baker, Henry,
Blacketler, William,
Camburn, Osburn,
Cissell, Thomas,
Cidwell, John,
Caho, John,
Cissell, Robert,
Cannon, Israel,
Cravens, James,
Cunstable, Stephen,
Cinkhorn, John,
Cundiff, James,
Cartico, Lloyd,
Collier, Daniel,
Easton, John,
Elliott, John,
Enson, George,

Green, Charles,
Gerton, John,
Grey, Charles,
Galesby, Edward,
Gains, Strother H.,
Harris, Overton,
Harris, William,
Hinton, Shadrick,
Howard, Charles,
Hall, Thomas,
Knott, Jeremiah,
Landers, James,
Lyons, John,
Lyons, Charles W.,
Lanham, William,
Lockman, John B.,
Lockman, Charles,
Mercer, Martin,
Mills, Samuel,
Mattingly, Joseph,
Mahoney, William,
Miller, Ignatius,
Marby, Micajah,
Morgan, Jubel,

Meanally, Basil,
Meanally, John,
Mitchel, Jacob,
Newton, Ignatius,
Nichols, John,
Owings, James,
Patterson, Joseph,
Philips, Jesse,
Quigans, James,
Quigans, Joseph,
Stemmons, Henry,
Stanfield, John,
Smithers, Daniel,
Smith, Richard,
Simpson, Allugus,
Smith, John,
Sanders, John,
Updergrove, Joseph,
Vessels, Benjamin,
Vaun, Obediah,
Waid, Evan,
Wooley, John,
Williams, Edward,
Whitehouse, Thomas.

III

ROLL OF FIELD AND STAFF, DAVIS'S REGIMENT, KENTUCKY
DETACHED MILITIA, WAR OF 1812, COMMANDED BY
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PRESLEY GRAY

PRESLEY GRAY, Lieutenant-colonel.	HENRY WINSLOW, Surgeon's Mate.
JOHN DAVIS, Major.	WILLIAM W. FORD, Sergeant-major.
JAMES JOHNSON, Major.	SAMUEL STEWART, S. Mate.
WILLIAM WALKER, Major.	WILLIAM VANCELEVE, Drum Major.
ZEB A HOLT, Major.	JOHN CURRY, Fife Major.
S. C. STEPHENS, Adjutant.	SAMUEL GRAY, Quartermaster-sergeant.
GEORGE P. MILLER, Paymaster.	SAMUEL BLACKWELL, Quartermaster-
ZACHARIAH TERRYHEL, Quartermaster.	sergeant.
ALLEN A. HAMILTON, Surgeon.	

CAPTAIN ROBERT THRUSTON'S COMPANY

ROBERT THRUSTON, Captain.	GEORGE RUNGER, Corporal.
HENRY GRESHAM, Lieutenant.	ADAM GILLILAND, Corporal.
JOHN D. GOTT, Ensign.	ISAAC HILL, Corporal.
SAMUEL S. GREEN, Sergeant.	DAVID RICHEY, Corporal.
DANIEL RAGSDALE, Sergeant.	JOHN CURRY, Fifer.
JOHN S. SIMPSON, Sergeant.	THOMAS CURRY, Drummer.
AARON COLLETT, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Armstrong, Benjamin,	Cathran, John,	Galbreath, William,
Arnold, William,	Cooley, Jesse,	Hunter, Charles,
Arnold, Robert,	Clark, David,	Hunter, Willis,
Allen, Nathaniel,	Crow, Andrew,	Hill, John,
Alexander, John,	Chenowith, Thomas,	Ingraham, James,
Blanton, Thomas,	Collett, Moses,	Inshmeyer, John,
Bowman, James,	Caplinger, John,	Knapp, Charles,
Bryant, Thomas,	Cottonham, John D.,	Kirk, James,
Brooky, John,	Daniels, George,	Kincade, Matthew,
Barnett, Philip E.,	Dawville, Charles,	Lowell, Jacob,
Blanchard, John,	Elsbury, Jonathan,	Leggett, John,
Caldwell, William,	Farmer, James,	Miller, Christopher,

Messen, James,	Russell, John,	Stafford, Thomas,
Milam, John,	Ragsdale, Frederick,	Tyler, Willis,
McCartney, Andrew,	Robinson, James,	Taylor, James,
Newell, Archibald,	Shrum, John,	Tadlock, Alexander,
Osborn, John,	Sharp, William,	Thursby, James,
Porter, James,	Standiford, William,	Weems, James S.,
Pittenger, Thomas,	Smith, Henry,	White, Warren,
Prewett, Joel,	Spence, Willis,	Woodward, John,
Parsons, David,	Stillwell, Isaiah,	Washburn, Samuel S.
Penley, Wesley,		

CAPTAIN THOMAS JOYES' COMPANY

THOMAS JOYES, Captain.	JOHN W. BAINBRIDGE, Sergeant.
ANDREW PORTTORFF, Lieutenant.	JOHN RAY, Corporal.
SAMUEL FARICKSON, Ensign.	JOHN O. HANLON, Corporal.
JOHN HADLEY, Sergeant.	WILLIAM DUERSON, Corporal.
WILLIAM SALE, Sergeant.	ABNER C. YOUNG, Corporal.
JOHN BOOKER, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Ames, Robert B.,	Guthrie, Moses,	Meddis, John, (Waiter)
Brinley, Jacob,	Hilliard, Anson G.,	Newkirk, William,
Bateman, Isaac,	Hill, Mason,	Ormer, Peter,
Balee, Abraham,	Hubbs, Jacob,	Parish, Price,
Booty, John,	Holt, Samuel,	Pearson, George R.,
Brandenburgh, Absalom,	Johnson, William,	Pierce, Chester,
Bagwell, John,	Jones, John,	Ralston, Alexander,
Croxton, Cornelius,	Jackson, George,	Risley, James,
Carson, Hugh,	Kelly, Christopher,	Ross, Thomas,
Cardwell, William,	Lashbrook, Samuel,	Stewart, James,
Carlton, Francis D.,	Martin, Westley,	Stower, Patrick,
Crossgrave, Charles,	Meddis, Godfrey,	Slaughter, Jacob,
Calhoun, Alexander,	Morlow, Peter,	Stout, Michael,
Dunn, Thomas,	Miller, John,	Talbot, Thomas,
Davis, Squire,	Merryfield, John,	Thickston, William,
Dougherty, Patrick,	Miller, Levi,	Tyler, Joseph,
Elms, William,	Myrtle, William,	Traceler, Philip,
Floyd, Nathaniel,	Miller, George,	Williams, Moses,
Gosshort, Adam,	Mayfield, Isaac,	Woodward, James,
Greenawalt, John,	Morrow, John,	Wheeler, Jesse,
Glassgow, James,	Minter, John,	Welsh, Moses.
Glassgow, John,		

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WALKER'S COMPANY

WILLIAM WALKER, Captain.
JOHN SMITH, Lieutenant.
JOHN WEBB, Ensign.
JOHN HARVEY, Sergeant.

JOHN H. GIBBS, Sergeant.
JOEL HARDIN, Sergeant.
ELIJAH YORK, Sergeant.

PRIVATES

Arterbury, James,
Bear, John,
Benedict, Tomkins,
Bear, Adam,
Bear, George,
Burgman, William,
Bates, Simeon,
Brewer, Charles,
Brown, Asa,
Carr, Elijah,
Clarke, Albin,
Cashman, Peter,
Cashman, John,
Case, Jacob,
Cowper, Joshua,
Caffrey, Thomas M.,
Clayton, John,
Davis, Silas,
Dawson, John,
Dowddle, Thomas J.,
Gardner, James,

Gilblaine, Robert,
Goatly, Thomas,
Gentry, William,
Glasscock, William,
Horton, Anthony,
Hulse, Josiah,
Holmes, Nicholas,
Hedges, Robert,
Hayes, Daniel,
Jarboe, Joseph,
Jackson, Isaac,
Johns, John,
Kindor, Peter,
King, John,
Keith, Jacob,
Langsley, John,
Liney, Zachariah,
Lyons, John,
Mattingly, Bennett,
Morgan, Lambeth,

Mellor, Jacob,
Millor, John,
Night, John,
Osten, Jeremiah,
Parpoint, Charles,
Pate, Allen,
Painter, William,
Pile, Francis,
Paul, George,
Pearman, Samuel,
Pearman, John,
Pate, Jeremiah,
Padden, John,
Radley, Ichabod,
Sally, Oliver P.,
Sevaney, Glasberry,
Slack, William,
Thomas, Joseph,
White, William,
Whitaker, Jesse.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH FUNK'S COMPANY

JOSEPH FUNK, Captain.
THOMAS TODD, Lieutenant.
MARTIN ADAMS, Ensign.
WILLIAM WALLACE, Sergeant.
ISAAC CARR, Sergeant.
JAMES AUSTIN, Sergeant.

JOSEPH WILLHORT, Sergeant.
FREDERICK MASON, Corporal.
JAMES PREWITT, Corporal.
JOHN YOUNG, Corporal.
THOMAS BATEMAN, Corporal.
WILLIAM TETER, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Anderson, Thomas,
Archer, Thomas,
Austin, William,
Austin, Daniel,
Bateman, John,

Briser, James,
Blankinboke, Jacob,
Brooks, Jacob,
Cann, Edward,
Campbell, James,

Campbell, George B.,
Crews, Elijah,
Crews, Zachariah,
Crow, Andrew D.,
Cox, George,

Edmondson, John,	Ingram, James,	Shelman, Jacob,
Fiteshue, Cole,	Jones, Hamilton,	Spalding, George W.,
Fitzer, Jacob,	Job, Andrew,	Steel, Andrew,
Ferguson, Samuel,	Jones, Thomas,	Stuart, Robert,
Forus, James,	Johnson, Thomas,	Shake, John,
Gilman, Timothy,	Kalfers, Jacob,	Shake, Adam,
Griffy, Samuel,	Knight, John,	Shirley, Absalom,
Greathouse, Luther,	Louther, Henry,	Tyler, David,
Green, Joseph,	Leggett, William,	Tyler, Absalom,
Gunn, Jonathan,	Maxwell, William,	Williams, Benjamin,
Green, John,	Mitchell, William,	Willhoit, Larkin,
Harris, Thomas,	Miller, Adam,	Wilky, John,
Hendricks, James F.,	Pearce, John,	Wood, Timothy,
Hortly, John,	Powell, William,	Wood, Henry,
Hensely, Alexander,	Portlow, Samuel,	Wooden, Robert,
Harmond, John,	Portlow, Edward,	Woodward, Michael.
Hobson, Milburn,	Rudy, George,	

CAPTAIN ZIBA HOLT'S COMPANY

ZIBA HOLT, Captain.	JOHN HOLODY, Sergeant.
JOHN MONTGOMERY, Lieutenant.	THOMAS SUBLETT, Corporal.
ADAM MOWNY, Ensign.	JOSEPH PEW, Corporal.
WYAT COLEMAN, Sergeant.	NATHAN CHALFRANT, Corporal.
WILLIAM STEWART, Sergeant.	MARK WILLIAMS, Corporal.
HENRY BLUNT, Sergeant.	JEREMIAH STOWERS, Fifer.

PRIVATES

Anderson, Josiah,	Drinkel, Timothy,	James, Thomas,
Agins, John,	Dean, John,	Jones, Moses,
Baker, Joseph,	Eallon, Charles,	Kindor, Peter,
Brasher, Reason,	Gillum, Charles,	Kendall, Thomas,
Boon, Moses,	Glenn, John,	Keyton, John,
Brown, William,	Gillum, Benjamin,	Lattey, Mathew,
Bags, John,	Gilpin, George,	Lock, Samuel,
Barnhill, William,	Glass, John,	McGee, William,
Brent, James,	Holt, John,	Miller, William,
Barker, Samuel,	Hammon, John,	Montgomery, Robert,
Colvin, James M.,	Heath, Martin,	McGannon, Thomas,
Chase, William,	Horton, James,	Overton, Moses,
Conway, William,	Gentry, Pleasant,	Parrott, William,
Corin, William,	Gibson, Perrygon,	Parker, Asa,
Crews, Jeremiah,	Gannon, Zachariah,	Reastine, John,
Dermit, James,	Jones, Hamilton,	Reed, James,

Ragsdale, William,	Spillman, Charles,	Williams, John,
Robbins, David,	Sparks, Henry,	Waters, Major,
Redding, Samuel,	Taylor, John,	Williams, Samuel,
Senor, David,	Thomas, John,	Wiley, Matthew,
Spencer, Ambrose,	Veal, Thomas,	Wooders, Stephen.
Sparks, Walter,	Watson, Samuel,	

CAPTAIN WILLIAM GANAWAY'S COMPANY

WILLIAM GANAWAY, Captain.	HENRY LEACH, Sergeant.
JULIUS C. JACKSON, Lieutenant.	SAMUEL KELLY, Corporal.
JOHN FIELD, Ensign.	JOHN TRAVIS, Corporal.
JOHN CLEVER, Sergeant.	JOHN COHEN, Corporal.
PETER BODINE, Sergeant.	BENJAMIN THOMAS, Corporal.
SAMUEL C. MYERS, Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Anderson, Athel,	Dunlap, Henry,	Myers, Benjamin,
Bott, John,	Duff, William M.,	Miller, Uriah,
Barron, Josiah,	Evans, William,	Ogden, Zachariah,
Burnett, Abraham,	Fulkerson, Adam,	Ogden, Levi,
Barron, Thomas,	Fulkerson, John,	Olvy, Thomas,
Barron, Shadrick,	Haycraft, James,	Olvy, Clement,
Barnett, Felia,	Hogan, George,	Ogden, James,
Bennett, Briant,	Harris, Samuel,	Phillips, John,
Bartell, George,	Islor, Jacob,	Prunty, Robert,
Bennett, Reuben,	Jones, Lemuel,	Rice, Allen,
Brown, Isaac,	Jones, Philip,	Spray, Jonas,
Brown, Henry,	Jordan, James,	Sconse, John,
Cane, John,	Kelly, George W.,	Tanner, Frederick,
Conrad, Henry,	Kelly, Benjamin,	Wakeland, William R.,
Collard, William,	Lewellon, Jabez,	Ward, Jesse,
Colaway, Walter,	Lock, William,	Williams, Evan,
Conrad, John,	Logsdon, James,	Welcher, William,
Davis, George,	Moloham, Clement,	Wood, Robert.

CAPTAIN JACOB PEACOCK'S COMPANY

JACOB PEACOCK, Captain.	JOHN SHIRKILIFFE, Sergeant.
BENJAMIN HENSON, Lieutenant.	WILLIAM TODD, Corporal.
JOHN KELLY, Ensign.	LEVI RIDGWAY, Corporal.
JOSEPH SWEARING, Sergeant.	JOSEPH RUDD, Corporal.
JESSE BURCH, Sergeant.	WALTER SMITH, Corporal.
BENJAMIN COLLINS, Sergeant.	CHARLES WILSON, Corporal.

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Burdett, William,	Glass, Royal,	Osborn, Ezekiel,
Burdett, Benjamin,	Greenwell, John B.,	Price, Samuel,
Beam, George,	Harris, Essex,	Polly, Joseph,
Baldwin, McKensey,	Hardy, Jacob,	Pratt, Richard,
Blanford, George,	Hopewell, Thomas,	Pursley, Peter,
Bishop, Henry,	Herrin, James,	Quick, Ephraim,
Craw, Joseph,	Johnson, Joseph,	Reed, Robert,
Campbell, Jacob,	Kerms, Daniel,	Rogers, John,
Cummins, John,	Kirk, William,	Rennels, Barney,
Clark, Joseph,	Kirke, Selerin,	Shephard, William,
Collins, Elisha,	Lashbrook, Thomas,	Shaw, William,
Cardwell, George,	Merryman, Charles,	Steel, John,
Charles, William,	McArthur, John,	Sligar, John,
Cosby, Ignatius,	McDonald, Archibald,	Smock, Jacob,
Davis, John,	Miller, Peter,	Thompson, William,
Dumont, Peter,	McDonnel, Miles,	Tonque, John B.,
Danielson, William,	McGary, Barney,	Whalen, Joseph,
Duberry, Benjamin,	Martin, John,	Waters, Hezekiah B.,
Duberry, James,	Owens, George,	Younger, Ebenezer.
Easton, Samuel,		

CAPTAIN ZACHARIAH TERRELL'S COMPANY

ZACHARIAH TERRELL, Captain.	JACOB COOPERIDER, Corporal.
DAVID ADAMS, Lieutenant.	PETER POLLY, Corporal.
JAMES PERRY, Ensign.	GILBERT FLANKINS, Corporal.
JAMES VANCE, First Sergeant.	THOMAS FRAZIER, Corporal.
JOSHUA RUTLEDGE, Second Sergeant.	ELIJAH SUMMERS, Corporal.
JOHN BUCHANNON, Third Sergeant.	JESSE ISAACS, Musician.
ISAAC HURD, Fourth Sergeant.	

PRIVATES

Armstrong, Richard,	Carico, Thomas,	Edrington, John,
Applegate, Elisha,	Criswell, Robert,	Floyd, Elijah,
Burnett, William,	Cardwell, John,	Ford, John,
Bourne, Benjamin,	Corlin, Benjamin,	Gray, William,
Briscoe, Warner,	Dillon, John,	Gouch, Nicholas,
Baker, Solomon,	Dalgarn, Allen,	Hollis, John P.,
Biggs, Hillery,	Deringer, Martin,	Hogan, Isaac C.,
Blackwell, Samuel,	Davis, Jacob,	Hackworth, Joseph,
Bishop, Michael,	Davis, William,	Harris, Samuel,
Blackwell, Robert,	Drake, John,	Jones, Rodham,
Connelly, Rice,	Ewin, Squire,	Jacobs, John,

Kirkindal, Henry,	Newman, John,	Sherburne, Pascal,
Kipheart, Philip,	Neaver, Daniel,	Sanders, Johnson,
Lemaston, Ewin,	Neville, James,	Spencer, Thomas,
McGee, William,	Neaves, William,	Steel, James,
Mudd, Francis,	Paine, Elzy,	Steel, Rankin,
Miller, Nathaniel,	Roe, Nicholas,	Scott, James,
Miller, Owen,	Rodgers, John,	Todd, Samuel,
Myers, David,	Runy, James,	Terrill, John,
Nelson, William,	Stutt, Christian,	Vaniel, Henry,
Nelson, John,	Stodghill, Thomas,	Welch, William.
Newman, Thomas,	Steel, William,	

CAPTAIN AARON HART'S COMPANY

AARON HART, Captain.	JOHN BURRISS, Fourth Sergeant,
MOSES HART, Lieutenant.	WILLIAM HUDDLESTON, Corporal.
NATHAN TUCKER, Ensign.	WILLIAM WATKINS, Corporal.
ARTHUR MCGAUGHEY, First Sergeant.	DANIEL GREENWAIT, Corporal.
GEORGE SISS, Second Sergeant.	JAMES LINVILLE, Corporal.
JOHN COLLINS, Third Sergeant.	DAVID WADDLE, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Alexander, Thomas,	Daugherty, Allen,	McContis, William,
Alexander, David B.,	Gaddy, John,	Miller, Philip,
Arrington, Lewis,	Guardman, Jonathan,	Price, William,
Bennett, James,	Grigsby, John,	Snyder, Fielding,
Bliss, Francis,	Graham, John,	Sipes, Henry,
Blain, James,	Huston, William,	Stokes, Joel,
Clark, Eaden,	Hornbeck, Isaac,	Shiplier, George,
Clark, James,	Hudgins, John,	Thomas, Owen,
Case, Joseph,	Johnston, Thomas,	Utterback, Jacob,
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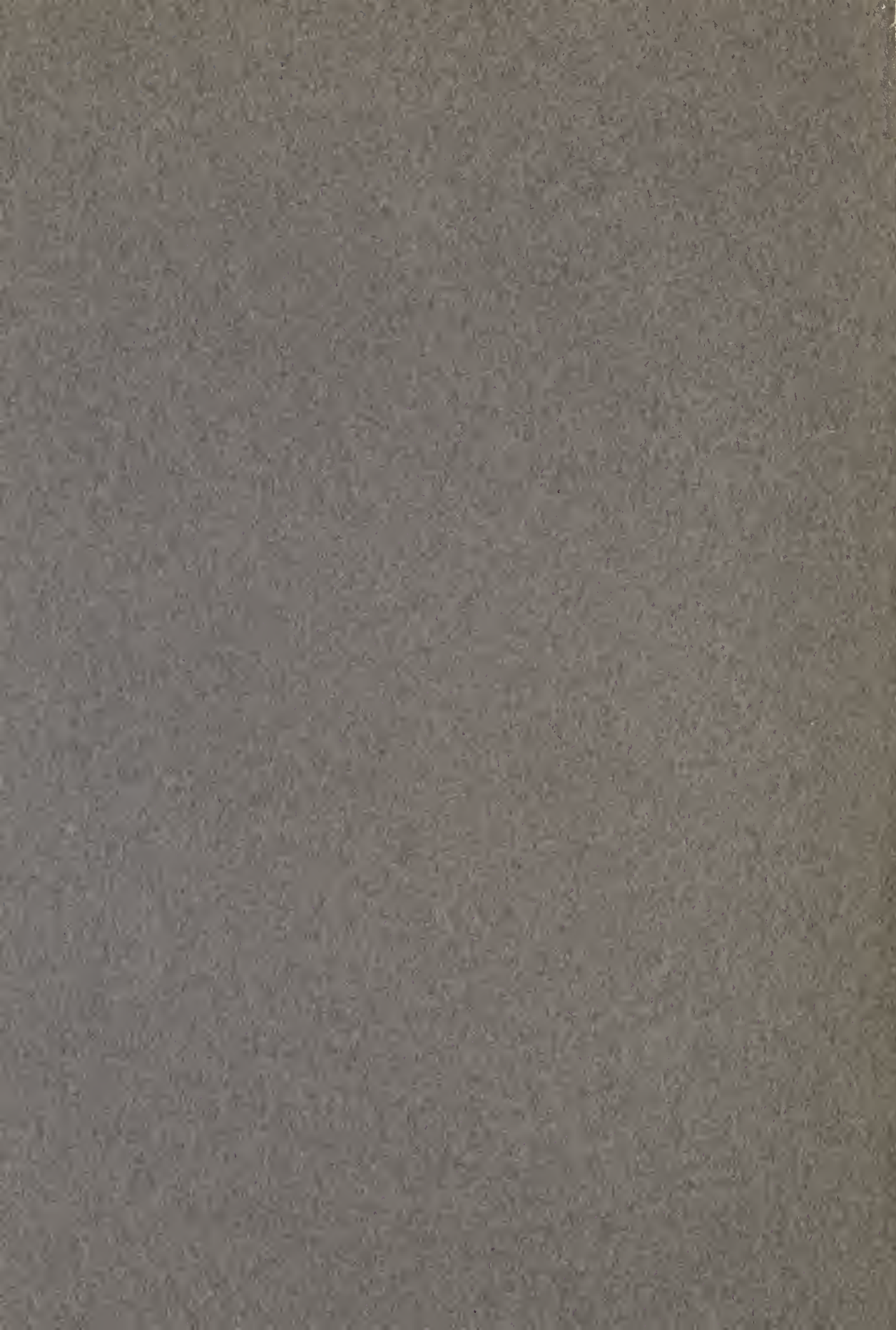
FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS
NUMBER TWENTY

THE HISTORY OF
The Medical Department
OF
Transylvania University



BY
DOCTOR ROBERT PETER

Prepared for Publication by his Daughter Miss
JOHANNA PETER, Member of The
Filson Club



55



DOCTOR ROBERT PETER.

FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS No. 20

THE HISTORY
OF
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OF
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Illustrated



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1905

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1905

PREFACE

IN preparing for publication the following sketch of the famous Transylvania Medical Department and its professors, I have placed in foot-notes, as far as practicable, my own additions to the text, so as to avoid making any radical change in my father's manuscript.

Portions of the history may seem fragmentary; some of the lives of the professors may be incomplete; some, no doubt, are insufficiently noticed, but this is easily understood when it is considered that my father wrote this narrative at irregular intervals of leisure in the years from 1873 to 1878, when some of the professors were still living; and that the writing was left by him in a yet uncompleted state and lacking those finishing touches which no other hand could so well give. In what I have done I have striven for accuracy. My father's reminiscences will have due weight as coming from one most intimately associated with Transylvania and her medical teachers—from the one colleague of all the brilliant company who could best transcribe them. The notice of Doctor Eberle I have copied from the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine* of 1838, as the nearest I could get

to the estimation in which he was held in the Transylvania School. The sketch of Doctor Bruce is gathered mainly from obituaries by his colleagues. That of Doctor Chipley—oftenest described, by those who knew him, as nature's nobleman—was written by his daughter, Mrs. Boykin Jones, in answer to my letter to her. I have added a few words about Doctor Marshall, and Doctor Skillman, "the beloved physician," the last survivor of the Transylvania Medical Faculty. And I have given as best I could a description of the last declining years of Transylvania, with some account of the Medical Hall and its ultimate fate. Any biography of Doctor Peter, I fear, must be unsatisfactory unless written at length. The brief summary of his life introductory to *The History of Transylvania University*, published by The Filson Club in 1896, was called "insufficient," "far too modest," etc. Such the story of a life so long, so full, and so many-sided must ever be unless a volume be devoted to it. In what I now say of my father I feel, even more than I did then, that I can not do justice. It is a mere itinerary of a life-journey. The same thing is true in varying degree of all the Transylvania professors, and I repeat here what I said of the former *History of Transylvania*—that all errors or faults must be ascribed to my own insufficiency to cope with the subject.

Preface

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Nevertheless, with all its shortcomings, this is a record not unworthy of preservation, and while biographers point us to the fact that in the United States Senate there sat at one and the same time no fewer than *eight* graduates of Transylvania University, including Jefferson Davis, afterward President of the Southern Confederacy, the student of these pages will remark that Transylvania's Medical Department had already won as abundant laurels in the field of science.

My grateful acknowledgments are due, first and for many kindnesses, to our invaluable President, Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, through whose unfailing interest, literary judgment, and tactful encouragement so many gems of Kentucky history have been preserved which otherwise had perished, and to the many friends of old Transylvania who have bid me Godspeed in my undertaking. I am indebted to Mrs. Thomas H. Clay for letters and documents bearing upon my subject; to Miss Mary Mason Brown for a copy of Jouett's admirable portrait of Doctor Brown which hangs in the old Brown homestead at Frankfort; to Mrs. Lawrence Dade Fitzhugh for data and the permission to use the beautiful portrait by Jouett of her ancestor, Doctor Richardson; to Mrs. Sallie Overton Bullock for the picture of Doctor Overton; to Mrs. Anderson Berry for the picture of

Doctor Cooke; to Mr. William Short, of Louisville, for valuable suggestions and the fine likeness of Doctor Short; and to Doctor A. M. Peter for some of the illustrations. The several descendants of Doctor Ridgely to whom I applied have, without exception, aided me most courteously and patiently in my search for a picture of Doctor Ridgely: a search which I abandoned with the utmost reluctance and with the feeling that his portrait, could I have found it, must have adorned this history as his life had adorned the times to which it belonged, and therefore be sadly missed from its place with Doctor Brown. To Doctor John W. Whitney, who was professor of Surgery and Anatomy in the Transylvania Medical School in 1854-55, and is now the sole surviving representative of that school, I am indebted for a number of facts and suggestions.

JOHANNA PETER.

INTRODUCTION

THE late Doctor Robert Peter, one of the most distinguished analytical chemists of his times, was a member of the Medical Faculty of Transylvania University from 1833 to the time of the dissolution of that institution, and afterward occupied chairs in the different colleges into which Transylvania was merged. He was one of the most active of the professors, and did as much as any one else to raise the university to the lofty heights it attained as a school of literature, law, and medicine. It occurred to him after the merger of the Transylvania into the Kentucky University that an institution which had led the way and done so much for literature, law, and medicine should not be permitted to vanish and leave nothing but a name and memory behind. He, therefore, went to work, after the weight of years was gathering fast upon him, to write the history of Transylvania University, and got his work almost finished in 1894, when death, which alone could have arrested him in his undertaking, relieved him of the task at the age of eighty-nine. His daughter, Miss Johanna Peter,

with filial affection worthy of so excellent a father, and public spirit equal to the occasion, rightly estimating so good a work if it should be published and put into the hands of the public, undertook to prepare his manuscripts for publication. One of these manuscripts prepared by her embraced the literary department of Transylvania, and was published by The Filson Club in 1896 as its eleventh publication. When this publication was made, it was intimated, if not promised, that it would be followed in the near future by one of the medical department. Miss Peter, therefore, prepared this second manuscript of her father for publication, and The Filson Club now presents it in the pages which follow as the twentieth number in its regular annual series.

The medical department of the Transylvania University no longer exists. Indeed, nothing of the Transylvania University exists except its name. Its learned professors have gone the way of all flesh. The last one of them recently went down to his grave. Its buildings have been swept away by fire or have passed to other institutions with its library and apparatus. Yet all of this renowned University has not passed away. Its fame yet lives, and will not perish while the memory of the living holds sacred the good deeds of predecessors. The distinguished professors made Transylvania Univer-

sity famous, and made history at the same time, and they themselves are now entitled to a place in history. It is the purpose of The Filson Club, by this publication, to assist in securing for them the place they deserve in the memory of mankind. Doctor Peter, the author, was the fittest of men to sketch these professors and to present life pictures of them. His work, however, if it had remained in manuscript, as he left it, would have been seen but by few, and could have done but little good. In this twentieth publication of The Filson Club, the manuscript will make its way to many and present them with likenesses of those who devoted their lives to instructing the young of our land in the art of administering to the sick and afflicted. The author knew all of his contemporary professors, and the likeness which he has given of some of them will be the ones by which they will be known in after years. Pen pictures are sometimes as efficient as likenesses in oil, and the characteristic of Doctor Peter's pictures is fidelity so executed that they seem to be the originals standing in life before us. In a work like this the essence of its history is biographic, and Doctor Peter has made his work to consist chiefly of biographical sketches of those who made Transylvania University what it was. He gives the leading facts in the life of each of the professors he sketches, and enu-

merates the other colleges in which they occupied chairs, and gives the titles of the works they published either in book form or magazine articles. He omits nothing in the sketch that is necessary in forming a just idea of the character portrayed.

In the long career of Transylvania University she did not fail to make enemies, but she made more friends than enemies to remember her. A few of the living students and the many descendants of the deceased professors and graduates now scattered broadcast over the land will be glad to read what is here said of old Transylvania, and the work will thus be widely known and read. All who see it will be thankful to Doctor Peter for his manuscript, and to Miss Johanna Peter for preparing it for the press, and to The Filson Club for publishing it.

There is in our nature something like the love of the relic which makes us revere the memory of Transylvania University. Early in the year 1799 a medical department was attached to this University which was the first medical college in the great Mississippi Valley and the second in the whole United States. The medical department of the University of Pennsylvania antedated it, but it antedated all others afterward established in any part of our vast domain. We can not, like our English cousins, go back along the pathway of centuries to the

colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and revere them for their age; we have nothing in our new country that partakes of such age. We are a young people in a young country, and our Transylvania Medical College was old enough from our standpoint to be crowned with hoary years. We revere it as the first medical college on this side of the Alleghanies. We revere it for the efforts it made to prepare our young physicians to cope with the diseases that afflicted our people. We revere it for the good name it gave our State in the fame it acquired. We revere it for the success of Professor Brown in introducing vaccination in advance of its discoverer, for the brilliant and numerous operations in lithotomy by Professor Dudley, and for the noble efforts of others of its professors in prolonging human life and mitigating its pains. What it did in the day of its glory is set forth in the pages which follow, and he who reads them will hardly doubt that the medical department of Transylvania University is worthy of the record here made for it.

R. T. DURRETT,

President of The Filson Club.

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MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

OF

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY

THE history of medicine and of the earliest medical men in Kentucky clusters around the name of TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.

The State of Virginia, in 1780—when “Kan-tuck-ee” or “Kentuckee,” as this country was then called, was only a little-explored portion of that State—placed eight thousand acres of escheated lands within that county into the hands of thirteen trustees “for the purposes of a public school or *seminary of learning*,” that they “might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth; it being the interest of this Commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which might tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of knowledge, even amongst the most remote citizens, whose situation a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse might otherwise render unfriendly to science.”

Three years thereafter (1783), when Kentucky had become a *district* of Virginia, the General Assembly, by a new amendatory Act, re-endowed this "public school" with twelve thousand acres more of escheated lands and gave to it all the privileges, powers, and immunities of "any college or university in the State," under the name of "*Transylvania Seminary*."

In the wild and sparsely settled country this seminary began a feeble existence under the special fostering care and patronage of the Presbyterians, who were then a leading religious body, aided by individual subscriptions and by additional State endowments.

The Reverend James Mitchel, a Presbyterian minister, was its first "*Grammar Master*," in 1785. In 1789 it was placed under the charge of Mr. Isaac Wilson and located in Lexington, with no more than thirteen pupils all told. The Reverend James Moore, educated for the Presbyterian ministry but subsequently an Episcopalian and first Rector of Christ Church, Lexington, was appointed "Director," or the first acting President of the Transylvania Seminary, in 1791.¹ He taught in his own house for want of a proper seminary building, with the aid of a small library and collection of philosophical apparatus. This library and apparatus had been donated

¹ April 11, 1791. See Records of Transylvania University

by the Reverend John Todd, of Virginia, who, with other influential Presbyterians, had been mainly instrumental in procuring the charters and endowments from the General Assembly of Virginia.

The offer of a lot of ground in the town of Lexington¹ to the trustees of *Transylvania Seminary*, by a company of gentlemen calling themselves the "*Transylvania Land Company*," induced the trustees to permanently locate the seminary in that place in 1793. On that lot the first school and college buildings were placed, and on it was afterward erected the more commodious *University* edifice in which taught the learned and celebrated President, Doctor Horace Holley. This first *University* building was destroyed by fire May 9, 1829. In later years (1879) this old "College lot" was beautified and improved by tree-planting and otherwise by liberal citizens of Lexington, moved by the efforts of Mr. H. H. Gratz, and designated first "Centennial Park,"² and afterward "Gratz Park," in honor of Benjamin Gratz, being not now utilized for special educational purposes.

With limited success the first "*Director* of *Transylvania Seminary*" taught in Lexington until 1794, when he was superseded by the election by the Board of Trus-

¹ Out lot No. 6.

² In honor of the Centenary of Lexington, celebrated April 2, 1879.

4 The Medical Department

tees of Mr. Harry Toulmin as first President of the Seminary.

This gentleman, a learned Unitarian minister of the school of Doctor Priestly, and a native of England, resigned the Presidency in 1796, and was Secretary of State of Kentucky under Governor Garrard. (See *Collins' History of Kentucky*, volume 2, page 184.)

Intense feeling at the election of Mr. Toulmin on the part of the leading Presbyterians, who claimed the Seminary as their own peculiar institution, caused them to obtain in 1796 a charter from the Legislature of Kentucky—now a State—for a new institution of learning which they could more exclusively control. This was the “Kentucky Academy,” of which the Reverend James Blythe, of their communion, was made President.¹

¹An interesting notice of “*Inoculation for Smallpox*,” in 1794, is to be found in the files of the old *Kentucky Gazette*, a paper published by John Bradford, in Lexington, August 11, 1787—the first newspaper published west of the Alleghany mountains. This notice appeared in that paper January 4, 1794, as follows: “On Thursday last the inhabitants of this place began the inoculation of smallpox and have agreed to continue until the fifteenth, after which they are determined to cease. They have appointed a committee to draw up a remonstrance to the court of Fayette County requesting that the order of that court granting liberty to the inhabitants of said county to inoculate may be rescinded, so far as respects the town of Lexington, after that date.” The *Gazette* for the first of February following has this significant statement, illustrating the great hazard of this primitive operation, viz: “That the smallpox had been very fatal within the three weeks past in the town and vicinity under inoculation, that at least *one out of fifteen died* who had been inoculated, and very few children had recovered.” Vaccination was introduced here by Professor Samuel Brown, M. D., at quite an early period, as we shall see further on.

On the establishment of the *Kentucky Academy* by the dissatisfied Presbyterians in 1796, an active rivalry between that school and Transylvania Seminary operated to the injury of both institutions as well as to the cause of education in general. Therefore, after two years of separate existence these two institutions, with the consent of the trustees of both, were united in 1798 by Act of the General Assembly of Kentucky into one, "for the promotion of public good and learning," under the title of *Transylvania University*. The consolidation was made under the original laws which governed the Transylvania Seminary as enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia.

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.

Under the act of consolidation of December 22, 1798, this University was organized by the appointment of Reverend James Moore, of the Episcopal Church, as first acting President, with a corps of professors. And now, *for the first time* in the Mississippi Valley, was the effort made to establish a *medical college*.

Early in 1799, at the first meeting of the trustees of the new Transylvania University,¹ they instituted "The *Medical Department*" or *College* of Transylvania—which

¹Lexington, January 8, 1799. (See Records of Transylvania University, Volume 1.)

subsequently became so prosperous and so celebrated—by the appointment of Doctor Samuel Brown as Professor of Chemistry, Anatomy, and Surgery, and Doctor Frederick Ridgely as Professor of Materia Medica, Midwifery, and Practice of Physic. Doctor Brown qualified as Professor October 26, 1799, and Doctor Ridgely the following November.

Doctor Brown was authorized by the Board to import books and other means of instruction for the use of the medical professors to the amount of five hundred dollars¹—a considerable sum in those days—and he and his colleague were made salaried officers of the University.

A Law College was also organized at this time in the University by the appointment of Colonel George Nicholas, soldier of the Revolution and member of the Virginia Convention, as Professor of Law and Politics.

DOCTOR SAMUEL BROWN,

The first Medical Professor of Transylvania University and of the great Western country, was born in Augusta, or Rockbridge County, Virginia, January 30, 1769, and died near Huntsville, Alabama, at the residence of Colonel Thomas G. Percy, January 12, 1830. He was the son of Reverend John Brown, a Presbyterian minister of great

¹December 11, 1799. (See Records of Transylvania University.)

learning and piety, and Margaret Preston—a woman of remarkable energy of character and vigor of mind—second daughter of John Preston and Elizabeth Patton.¹ He was the third of four distinguished brothers—Honorable John Brown, Honorable James Brown, Doctor Samuel Brown, and Doctor Preston Brown.

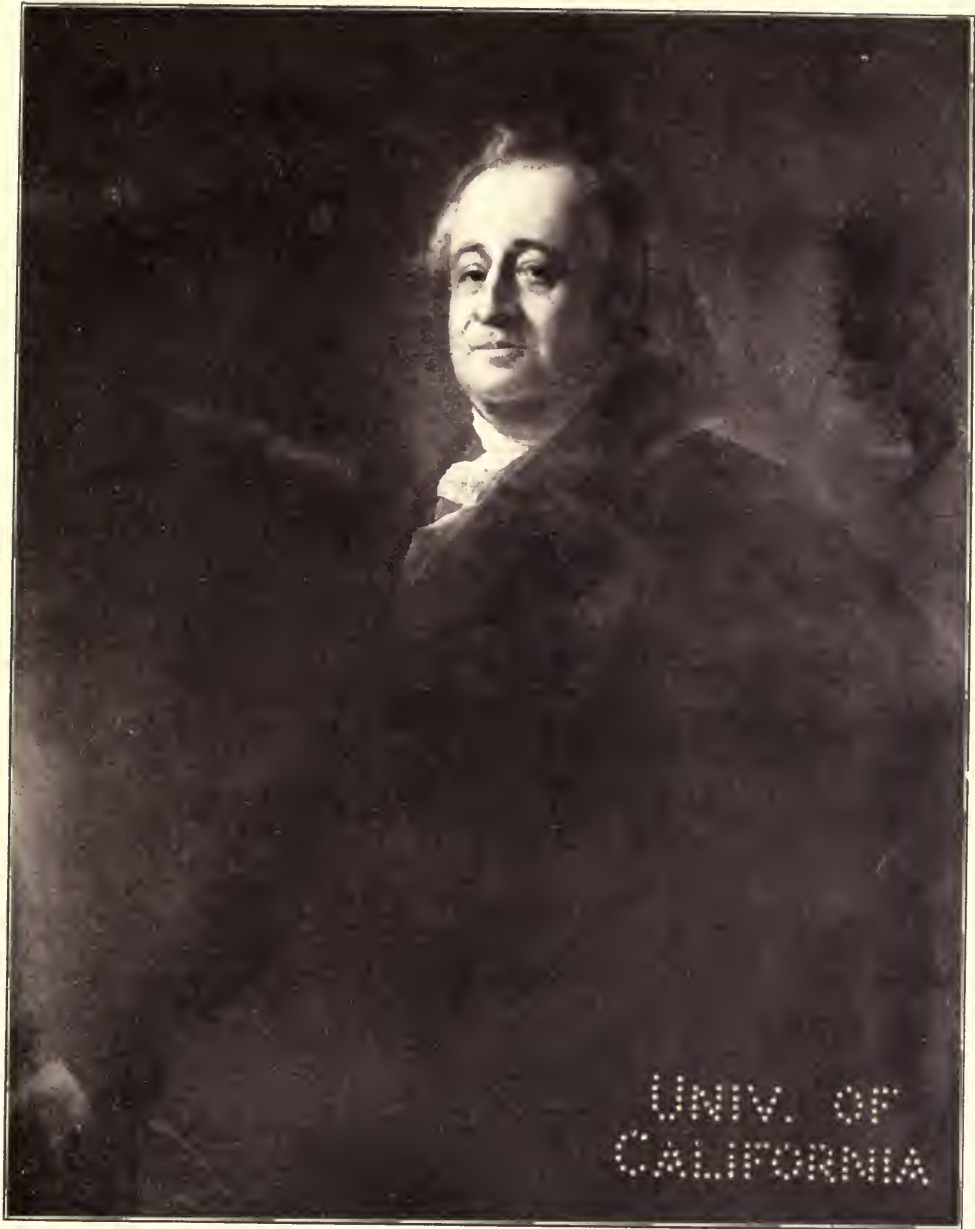
After graduating at Carlisle College, Pennsylvania, where he had been sent by his elder brother, he studied medicine for two years in Edinburgh, Scotland. Doctor Hosack, of New York, and Doctor E. McDowell, of Danville, Kentucky, were of the same class. Returning to the United States, he commenced practice in Bladensburg, but soon removed to Lexington, Kentucky, where he was made Professor of Chemistry, Anatomy, and Surgery in Transylvania University in 1799, as above stated. In 1806, he removed to Fort Adams, Mississippi, where he married Miss Percy, of Alabama.² Afterward returning to Lexington he was re-appointed in 1819 to a chair in the Medical Department of Transylvania, that of Theory and Practice. Here he was a distinguished colleague of Professors B. W. Dudley, Charles Caldwell, Daniel Drake, William Richardson, and James Blythe until 1825, when he finally left Kentucky.

¹“Memoranda of the Preston Family,” by John Mason Brown, Page 20.

²See “Memoranda of the Preston Family,” Page 37, for his descendants.

Doctor Brown was a man of fine personal appearance and manners; an accomplished scholar, gifted with a natural eloquence and humor that made him one of the most fascinating lecturers of his day. Learned in many branches, he was an enthusiast in his own profession, scrupulous in regard to etiquette and exceedingly benevolent and liberal of his time and services to the poor. Although active in scientific pursuits he left no extensive work, and but a few detached writings to perpetuate his fame.

His name appears among those of the contributors to the *American Philosophical Transactions*, and to the medical and scientific periodicals of the day, both in this country and in Europe. In those *Transactions* and in *Bruce's Journal of Mineralogy*, etc., he described a remarkably large nitre cavern on Crooked Creek in Madison County (now Rockcastle County), Kentucky. In this and in a subsequent communication in Volume 1 of *Silliman's Journal* he described the process of nitre manufacture in caves, and gave the best theory of its formation, according to the science of the day. In various other journals he described several interesting cases which occurred in his own practice, and in the renowned *Medical Logic*, by the distinguished Gilbert Blane, of London, Doctor Samuel Brown, of Lexington, is quoted as author-



DOCTOR SAMUEL BROWN.

From Jouett's Portrait at Frankfort.

ity for a certain scientific fact. "To him we are indebted for the first introduction in the West of the prophylactic use of the cow-pox. As early as 1802 he had vaccinated upwards of five hundred persons, when in New York and Philadelphia physicians were only just making their first experimental attempts. The virus he used was taken from its original source, the teats of the cow, and used in Lexington even before Jenner could gain the confidence of the people of his own country."¹

A curious anecdote, illustrating *progress*, was told of Doctor Samuel Brown by his nephew, the late Orlando Brown, Esquire, of Frankfort, in a letter to the present writer:

"I remember once when talking of calomel, he said he never would forget the first dose of it he gave a patient. It was looked upon as 'the Hercules,' and he used it accordingly. The case was desperate and he resolved to venture upon calomel and give a *strong dose*. He accordingly weighed out with scrupulous accuracy *four grains*—gave it to his patient, *and sat up all night to watch its effects*. The man got well and the Doctor afterwards used calomel more freely."

What would he have thought of the heaping tablespoonful doses—quickly repeated *pro re nata*—or the *pound* of

¹Quoted from an introductory lecture to the winter course in the Medical Department of Transylvania University, delivered by the present writer (Doctor Robert Peter) November 5, 1854.

calomel taken in a day—and survived—which characterized the cholera treatment of one of the later Professors of Transylvania Medical School?

DOCTOR FREDERICK RIDGELY,

Of a well-known family in Maryland,¹ and one of the most celebrated of the early physicians of the West, studied medicine in Delaware, and attended medical lectures in Philadelphia.

He was appointed Surgeon to a rifle corps in Virginia when only nineteen years of age, and served in different positions as Surgeon throughout the Revolutionary War. He came to Kentucky in 1790, was Surgeon-General in General Wayne's army in 1794, and after that decisive campaign was ended returned to Kentucky in 1799 and was made Professor of *Materia Medica*, Midwifery, and the Practice of Physic in the same year in the Medical Department of Transylvania University at the first organization of this department.

Widely known as a successful practitioner and a gentleman of great benevolence, disinterestedness, and affability, he was also one of the medical preceptors of Ken-

¹ Doctor Ridgely was born on Elkridge, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, May 25, 1757, and studied medicine under Doctor Philip Thomas, of almost unrivaled reputation. (Doctor C. W. Short.)

tucky's distinguished surgeon, Benjamin W. Dudley, and for many years gave active support to Transylvania University as a member of the Board of Trustees. In 1799-1800, he delivered to the small class of medical students then in attendance a course of public instruction which did him much credit—a fact of peculiar interest, “as it proves him to have been,” with his able colleague, Doctor Samuel Brown, “*the first who taught medicine by lecture in Western America.*” He died at the age of sixty-eight at Dayton, Ohio, December 21, 1824.

These first medical professors in Transylvania University were no doubt the first in the promotion of medical education in the West. Medical and Law societies were soon established and were in active operation—as we learn from the columns of the *Kentucky Gazette*, published at the time. How many pupils they attracted and taught we can not now definitely ascertain.

In 1801, the meager existing records of the University show a reorganization, in which the Reverend James Moore—who had been replaced in 1799 by a Presbyterian clergyman, the Reverend James Welsh—was restored to the Presidency. “Doctor Frederick Ridgely was made Professor of Medicine, and Doctor Walter Warfield was made Professor of Midwifery, in addition to Doctor Samuel Brown.” Doctor Warfield, a physician of Lex-

ington, did not long occupy this chair, and appears not to have lectured in it.

In 1804, the Reverend James Blythe, D. D., of the Presbyterian church, who had been President of *Kentucky Academy*, was made acting President of *Transylvania University*, which position he held until 1816. He was subsequently, in 1817, under Doctor Holley's administration, appointed Professor of Chemistry, etc., in the Medical Department. This position he retained until, in 1831, he accepted the Presidency of Hanover College, Indiana.

Doctor Blythe died in 1842, aged seventy-seven, having devoted his life mainly to religion; having been one of the pioneers of the Presbyterian church in Kentucky. He made no distinguished reputation as a chemical professor in the Medical School, for chemistry in those days had few advocates, but he did good service in the University as a teacher of what was called "Natural Philosophy" in early times.

The Medical College of Transylvania University seems not to have attracted many students in this early period of its history, nor were its means of instruction or its organization complete.

In 1805, Doctor James Fishback, D. D., was made Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in this

department.¹ He was characterized as an eloquent, learned, though erratic divine; an able writer; a physician in good practice; an influential lawyer, and an upright man. He was the son of Jacob Fishback,² who came to Kentucky from Virginia in 1783.

He resigned this chair in 1806, having given lectures to such small medical classes as were present. In 1808, he was elected Representative to the General Assembly of Kentucky. In 1813, he published *The Philosophy of the Mind in Respect to Religion*, and, in 1834, *Essays and Dialogues on the Powers and Susceptibilities of the Human Mind to Religion*. He was also preceptor in medicine, and for a time partner in the practice, of the celebrated surgeon, Benjamin W. Dudley. He died at an advanced age in 1854.

An effort was again made to organize a full Faculty and establish a medical school in Transylvania University in the year 1809, when Doctor Benjamin W. Dudley was appointed to the chair of Anatomy and Physiology, Doctor Elisha Warfield to Surgery and Obstetrics, Joseph Buchanan, A. M., to the Institutes of Medicine, and Doctor James Overton to Materia Medica and Botany.³

¹ Doctor James Fishback resigned as Trustee and qualified as Medical Professor November 4, 1805. (See Records.)

² Jacob Fishback was a Trustee of Transylvania in 1801 and up to 1807. (See Records.)

³ See Records of Transylvania University, 1809.

But Doctor Warfield resigned in the same year, and Doctor Buchanan in 1810. The late Lewis Rogers, M. D., of Louisville, thus mentioned Doctor Buchanan in his inaugural address as President of the Kentucky State Medical Society in 1873: "He died in Louisville in 1829: and I call up from the memories of my boyhood with great distinctness his slender form, massive head, and thoughtful, intellectual face. He was a man of great and varied powers of mind. He was a mechanical, medical, and political philosopher. His 'spiral' steam-boiler—the prototype of the exploding and exploded tubular boiler—and his steam land-carriage were among the wonders of the day. As a physician his papers attracted distinguished notice from the medical *savants* of Philadelphia, then the center of medical science."

As a political writer he ably discussed the most weighty problems of the times, he being editor of the *Louisville Focus*. Want of concentration of his wonderful mind prevented him from becoming eminent in medicine as in other pursuits which divided his mental powers.¹

No systematic medical instruction seems to have resulted from this imperfect organization of the Medical School in 1809, although occasional lectures may have been delivered and private instruction given.

¹ An able biographical sketch of him by his son, Joseph Buchanan, also celebrated, was published in *Collins' History of Kentucky*, first edition.

Doctor Dudley, after having graduated in medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, visited Europe in 1810, spending four years in Paris and London in the arduous pursuit of medical and surgical information and experience under the celebrated teachers of that day. Returning then to Lexington he began a career as a practical surgeon and teacher, in which his name became distinguished throughout the civilized world.

DOCTOR BENJAMIN WINSLOW DUDLEY

Was born in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, April 12, 1785. His father, a leading Baptist minister in Kentucky, Ambrose Dudley, had commanded a company in the Revolutionary War, and removed to the neighborhood of Lexington, Kentucky, when his son Benjamin was little more than a year old, and to that city in 1797. Here, reared with such tuition as the schools of the day and the country afforded, Benjamin was placed while yet very young under the medical tutelage of Doctor Frederick Ridgely, then an eminent physician in large practice in Lexington, under whose instruction his ardent taste for medical knowledge was largely gratified. In the autumn of 1804 he went to the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and was there fellow-student with Daniel Drake, John Esten Cooke, and

William H. Richardson, his subsequent colleagues in the Medical Department of Transylvania University.

Returning to Lexington at the close of the medical lectures at Philadelphia, he engaged in the practice of physic and surgery with Doctor Fishback during the spring and summer months of 1805. He returned to the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania in the fall, receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine from that institution March, 1806, just two weeks before he was twenty-one years of age.

Desirous of perfecting his medical education in Europe, after a few years' further practice in Lexington he descended the Ohio River on a flatboat to New Orleans in 1810, just one year before the first experimental steamboat was launched upon those waters. At New Orleans he purchased a cargo of flour and sailed on a prosperous voyage to Gibraltar, and after advantageously disposing of his cargo at that place and at Lisbon, he made his way through Spain to Paris. After four years spent in Europe zealously and industriously employing all the great facilities of the hospitals, dissecting-rooms, and eminent instructors of Paris and London, and after traveling six months in Italy and Switzerland, he finally returned to Lexington in the summer of 1814, conscious of innate powers and ardently devoted to his profession.



DOCTOR BENJAMIN W. DUDLEY.

From a Portrait by Jouett owned by Mrs. Robert Peter.

Professor Dudley continued to lecture until 1850, when he resigned and was appointed Professor Emeritus. Doctor James M. Bush succeeded him in the chair of Anatomy, and Dudley's nephew, Ethelbert L. Dudley, took that of Surgery, which he filled with great success.

A schedule of the succession of the Professors of this Medical School will best illustrate the changes which occurred since 1819. (See Schedule A.)

Professor B. W. Dudley remained in the regular performance of the duties of his double chair—Anatomy and Surgery¹—with the able assistance of Doctor J. M. Bush, until 1844, when Doctor Bush was regularly appointed Professor of Anatomy. Doctor Dudley, as above mentioned, retained the chair of Surgery until 1850. In that year the Medical Faculty intermitted the winter session in Lexington, with the consent of the Trustees, in order to establish the "*Kentucky School of Medicine*" in Louisville as a winter school, retaining the Transylvania Medical College as a summer school. Doctor Dudley's last course of lectures was delivered in the session of 1849-50.

Simultaneously with the resignation of his professorship, he withdrew from his extensive practice and retired

¹ According to Doctor C. C. Graham he held that these two chairs should be inseparable.

to his beautiful suburban residence, "Fairlawn," in the vicinity of Lexington.¹ His death occurred in Lexington on the twentieth of January, 1870, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

Doctor Dudley was an earnest and laborious practical man. His whole time and energies were devoted to his profession, in which, like the celebrated John Hunter—the one of his early preceptors Dudley most admired—he sought instruction in the book of nature—in his practice—rather than in the written archives of science.

As a teacher and lecturer he was admirably clear and impressive. While no attempt at eloquence was ever made by him, and no early training or later readings in the classics gave ornament to his style, his terse and impressive sentences, as they were delivered apparently without the slightest effort or premeditation as also without hesitation or interruption, were the embodiment of the ideas to be conveyed, in the most lucid and concise language. It seemed impossible to use fewer or more appropriate words to convey to the least appreciative student the subject to be taught.

This, with his great practical skill as a surgeon, his minute and ready knowledge, his great experience, his unequaled success in his numerous operations, his suavity

¹ Now the site of the golf links at the termination of North Broadway.

and dignity of manner, the magnanimity and liberality of his character, and his eminent devotedness to his profession, made his students most earnest admirers and followers and aided greatly in the establishment and maintenance of our Medical College.

Although possessed of the firmest nerves, so that his hand never faltered in the severest operation,¹ his sensibility was so keen that he sometimes suffered from nervous prostration after the strain was over. Many of his pupils no doubt recollect with what feeling—manifested even by tears—he recited the sufferings and dangers of a patient of his who was the subject of obstinate secondary hemorrhage.

It was as a practical surgeon that Doctor Dudley justly attained a world-wide reputation, and especially as a successful operator in lithotomy. This operation he performed two hundred and twenty-five times, without losing a single patient until after his one hundredth operation, losing in the whole of his operations only about two per cent. So celebrated had he become for this operation as early as 1827 that the *Kentucky Gazette* for April 11, of that year, records that he operated three times for stone in one day.

He always performed the lateral operation with the gorget, and never until by previous preparation—by diet

¹This was before the use of anesthetics in surgery, it must be remembered.

and medicine—he had brought the system of his patient to a proper state.¹

Then, with good nursing under his immediate direction in wholesome private lodging, the incision healed up by the first intention. Although the stone may have been so large that much effort was required to withdraw it through the incision—sometimes even attended with laceration—the patient was on his feet again in a surprisingly short period of time. The Doctor justly attached great importance to the preliminary constitutional preparation of his surgical patients.

A notice of two of his earliest operations of this kind is given in the *Kentucky Gazette* for Saturday, November 19, 1817. The one—the first he performed in Lexington—on Mr. S. Owen, of that place, and the other, “some time ago,” on a little boy in Paris, Kentucky, which, according to Doctor C. C. Graham—who was his pupil at that time—was the first operation for stone performed by Doctor Dudley. He never used lithotritry or seemed to approve of that operation.

Another surgical specialty was his great use of judicious and regulated pressure by means of the roller bandage in the cure of abscesses, in the control of inflam-

¹ Did he not, in this preliminary preparation of his surgical patients, unwittingly render them safe from the microbes of disease, thus practically securing for them the benefits of more modern scientific discovery?

mation, in the treatment of fractures, aneurisms, etc. No surgeon probably ever used it so extensively or so successfully. Few, even of his pupils, seemed to be able to apply it with the skill and judgment which characterized their preceptor.

He was also an earnest advocate of the patient use of hot water—as hot as could be borne—in the control of inflammation. Where other surgeons resorted to poultices he applied hot water.

He was not ready with his pen; because, probably, of early neglect in the practice of composition. What he wrote was mostly at the urgent solicitation of his colleagues, and for the columns of *The Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, a quarterly which first appeared in Lexington February, 1828.¹ It was then edited by his colleagues, Professors Cooke and Short; subsequently by Professor Yandell, then by Professor Peter, more lately by Professor T. D. Mitchell, and lastly by Professor Ethelbert L. Dudley.

In the first volume of this Journal appeared Doctor Dudley's first paper, a most remarkable article, showing by cases in his practice that epilepsy may be caused by pressure on the brain, the consequence of fracture of the

¹ March 28, 1828, Doctor Dudley was elected President, *pro tem*, in the interval between the unanimous election of Reverend Alva Woods, D. D., February 7, 1828, and his installation October 13, 1828.

skull, and, as demonstrated by five successive operations, might be cured by trephining, a fact and experience in surgery then entirely new, for which Doctor Dudley is entitled to the honor of discovery and demonstration.

In the same paper is communicated a novel and successful method of treatment of *fungus cerebri*, by means of dried sponge compresses. Doctor Dudley stated that by this means he had cured *fungus cerebri* within the space of five days.

In a second paper, in the next number of this volume, he gives an original and successful operation for hydrocele. In the fourth number he began an extensive article on his peculiar uses of the roller bandage in gunshot wounds, fractures, etc., which he continued through several volumes of the Journal. In the second volume he had given an interesting article on the use of the roller bandage in the treatment of ulcers, contusions, lacerations, effusions, etc. In the fifth volume he continued his remarks on epilepsy as treated by the trephine. In volume sixth he published a record of his experience in the treatment of Asiatic cholera in Lexington. In the ninth he continued his observations on the bandage and its very successful application in the treatment of fractures. A most interesting and valuable article on *Calculous Diseases* from his pen appeared in the same volume,

illustrating not only his great practical skill but his courage and quick and clear judgment in cases of emergency. Volumes ten and twelve contained reports of his operations in lithotomy; volume eleven, a paper on *Fractures and Calculous Diseases*.

In the elegant and generally correct Memoir of Doctor Benjamin W. Dudley, published by the late Lunsford P. Yandell, M. D., in the *American Practitioner*, 1870, these are stated to be the only writings of our late distinguished surgeon; but Doctor Dudley subsequently published three elaborate and highly valuable surgical papers, to wit:

1. *On the Treatment of Aneurism*, published in the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, edited by Professor Ethelbert L. Dudley, July, 1849.

2. *On the Treatment of Gunshot Wounds*. Ibid., December, 1849.

3. *On the Treatment of Fractures by the Roller Bandage*. Ibid., 1850.

This journal was a bi-weekly publication, the successor of the old *Transylvania Medical Journal* above mentioned.

These were the latest productions of Doctor B. W. Dudley. Engaged as he continually was in a daily round of engrossing surgical and medical practice, lecturing twice a day in the Medical School during its sessions,

there was left to him but little time for the record or promulgation of his ample experience by his pen.

As a medical practitioner also he was original. He was among the first to discard the lancet in his treatment of disease. He used instead small doses of tartar emetic, or more recently, of ipecacuanha frequently repeated, with low diet; or cholagogue purgatives combined with ipecacuanha, etc. He confined himself to but few medicines, but in the application of these, and of diet and regimen, his clear and correct judgment was usually apparent. Polypharmacy he despised. New remedies were looked upon by him with incredulity and suspicion. Quinine, iodine, and other novelties in his time never were accorded approbation by him.

As a man and a citizen he was eminently liberal, charitable, magnanimous, public-spirited, and energetic. He bound his friends to him with the strongest ties and treated his hostile enemies—who were few—with a cordial hatred. His sense of honor and personal dignity was very delicate and high. No one so deeply despised a mean action. No one so readily forgave an injury which was confessed.

An exemplification of his character was given in 1817-18. A difficulty having originated between him-

self and Doctor Drake, in relation to the resignation of the latter and some matters connected with a post-mortem examination of an Irishman who had been killed in a quarrel, sharp pamphlets passed between them and a challenge to mortal combat from Dudley to Drake, which the latter declined, but which was vicariously accepted by his next friend, Doctor William H. Richardson. A duel resulted in which, at the first fire, Richardson was seriously wounded in the groin by the ball of Dudley, severing the inguinal artery. Richardson would have speedily bled to death—as it could not be controlled by the tourniquet—but for the ready skill and magnanimity of Dudley. He immediately asked permission of his adversary to arrest the hemorrhage, and by the pressure with his thumb over the ilium gave time for the application of the ligature by the surgeon of Richardson—thus converting his deadly antagonist into a lifelong friend.

Notwithstanding Doctor Dudley had contributed tens of thousands to public improvement and to private charities, and never regularly kept accounts against his patients, he acquired a considerable fortune. His latter days were passed in the society of his children and grandchildren in the household of his son, the late William A. Dudley, surrounded by all the comforts which a large

competency and a devoted family could provide. Thus, in the quiet of domestic retirement, passed away the last days of a most active and eminently useful and distinguished life.¹

The annals of the earlier efforts to establish medical education and a medical college in connection with Transylvania University—the first in the whole West and the second in the United States—are meager and unsatisfactory.

As already stated, the first Medical Professors in this University—Doctors Samuel Brown and Frederick Ridgely (1799)—no doubt taught and lectured occasionally to such students as were present. The files of the old *Kentucky Gazette* show that Doctor James Fishback, who was unanimously appointed to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Transylvania in 1805, advertised to lecture, and did probably lecture on these subjects. But he resigned in 1806. Doctor James Overton, who had been appointed to the chair of *Materia Medica* and Botany in 1809, said in his letter of accept-

¹“He contracted poison in performing a surgical operation, from which he suffered greatly and never recovered. He died suddenly after about two hours of illness, at a quarter to one on Thursday morning, January 20, 1870, of apoplexy. In his relations of son, husband, father, master and friend it is believed he has left no better man.” (Extract from a short obituary by his brother, Reverend Thomas P. Dudley.)

ance (on the occasion of his reappointment in the reorganization of the Medical Faculty in 1817) that he "had engaged for some time in giving lectures on Theory and Practice in this town," etc.

According to the best recollection of the late Doctor Coleman Rogers—for a long time before his death a resident in Louisville—the Medical College of Transylvania University was reorganized in 1815 by the appointment of the following Faculty:

Doctor Benjamin W. Dudley, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.

Doctor Coleman Rogers, adjunct to this chair.

Doctor James Overton, Theory and Practice.

Doctor William H. Richardson, Obstetrics, etc.

Doctor Thomas Cooper (Judge Cooper), of Pennsylvania, to the chair of Chemistry, Mineralogy, etc.

Doctor James Blythe, then acting President of the University, was to give chemical instruction. Doctor Cooper and Doctor Rogers did not accept this appointment. According to Doctor Rogers' recollection a regular course of lectures was not delivered by this Faculty, although Doctors Dudley and Overton probably both lectured or taught "as they previously had done."¹

¹ Doctor C. C. Graham says: "What few private students there were in Lexington went from shop to shop (at that day so called) and got three only, Dudley, Richardson, and eccentric Overton to give us a talk." (Letter to Doctor Peter.)

Doctor Dudley's own recollection, as detailed to the present writer, was also that he and Doctor Overton, as well as Doctor Blythe, lectured in 1815-16 to about twenty students, of whom the late Doctor Ayres and the yet surviving Nestor of Transylvania graduates, Doctor Christopher C. Graham, of Louisville—now almost a centenarian¹—were in attendance as pupils. Very little can now be ascertained, from existing records, of the character of Professor James Overton, M. D. Doctor Christopher C. Graham, in a recent letter to the writer, gives some of his reminiscences of him in the following language: "Doctor Overton was a small, black-eyed man, very hypochondrical and sarcastic (notoriously so), and yet quite chatty, humorous, and agreeable; telling his class many funny things. . . . He was well educated for his day and plumed himself especially on his Greek." Doctor Overton removed from Lexington to Nashville, Tennessee, in 1818.²

¹Since dead as more than a centenarian.

²His great niece, Mrs. Waller O. Bullock, in speaking of the portrait of Doctor Overton, the only one extant, says: "It was done in Philadelphia just as he was completing his medical course, and I think it must have been soon after that he entered upon his work at Transylvania. He took a post-graduate course at Paris, France, and was considered one of the most brilliant men of his day. He had great command of language and his conversation sparkled with wit and humor, nor was he less happy with his pen. On one occasion the city of Nashville offered a handsome prize for the best essay on some disputed medical point; no one was barred; doctors of all ages entered the lists, and Uncle James—though an old man—bore off the honors. In cultivated elegant society he was at his best, and



DOCTOR JAMES OVERTON.

From a Portrait made in Philadelphia before 1815.

The late Doctor Ayres, of Danville, and latterly of Lexington, informed the writer that, in 1815, Doctor Dudley, having recently returned from Europe, was invited by himself and other medical students to demonstrate to them in anatomy and surgery. Learning *that he would lecture to them if a class were formed*, they made up one of from twenty to twenty-five, and Doctor Dudley lectured to them on anatomy and surgery in "Trotter's Warehouse,"¹ a house situated on the south-east corner of Main and Mill streets, opposite the site² of the old original Lexington block-house. In the next winter, he recounts, he lectured to about fifty or sixty students, some of whom were from Ohio. Doctors Overton and Blythe, one or both, also lectured in both winters.

This may be said to be the real beginning of the successful career of the Medical Department of Transyl-

when distinguished foreigners visited President Jackson at the Hermitage it always devolved on Doctor Overton to do the agreeable, his command of French peculiarly fitting him for this post. He early left Kentucky to make his home in Tennessee, where he practiced his profession for many years, dying at an advanced age."

¹"When the first medical lectures were delivered in our city a room was rented for the purpose on Main Street. At the time of the reorganization in 1819 a commodious apartment in the upper story of the large building (on Short Street) now occupied (1854) by the Branch Bank of Kentucky, then as a tavern, was temporarily fitted up as a lecture-room, and Doctor Dudley lectured in his own rooms back of his office . . . (on Mill Street, east side, a little above Church Street). The rapid increase of the class soon induced Doctor Dudley to enlarge his accommodation by the erection of a very commodious amphitheatre, in which he lectured until 1839-40, when the new hall was built (corner of Broadway and Second)." (Lecture of Doctor Peter to Medical Department, November 6, 1854.)

²According to G. W. Ranck's *History of Lexington*.

vania University, and of that of Doctor Dudley as a medical professor.

The *Kentucky Gazette* of March 10, 1817, contains a card published by a committee of the medical students of Transylvania, signed David J. Ayres, Thomas J. Garden, and Charles H. Warfield (committee of the medical class), headed a "Tribute of Gratitude," in which they return grateful thanks to their professors, Doctors B. W. Dudley, James Overton, and the Reverend Doctor Blythe, for the ability, fidelity, and perseverance with which they had taught. A further proof that a medical session was held in the Transylvania School in 1816-17.

Many circumstances in these early times favored the establishment of a medical college in Lexington. Not only had that city been recognized for many years as a great center of public education for the whole State—made so by the location in it of the State's University, "Transylvania"—but it was also at that time the great metropolis of the West. The country around it, though fast becoming settled and improved by enterprising pioneers, had not as yet been provided with roads, or good means of communication with older settlements. To ascend the Ohio River and cross the Alleghany Mountains to Philadelphia, where the only other medical school then existed, was a tedious and laborious undertaking, not devoid of danger.

The celebrated French botanist, F. A. Michaux, who visited this country in 1802, was obliged to walk most of the way over the mountains to Pittsburg. Descending the Ohio River in a canoe and landing at Limestone (now Maysville), he consumed two days and a half on horseback on his journey from that place to Lexington, having been obliged to leave his baggage behind. The late Professor Charles Caldwell records, in his remarkable *Autobiography*, that as late as 1820, when he set out from Lexington for Europe to purchase books and apparatus for the Medical Department of Transylvania, he was compelled to travel from Lexington to Maysville on horseback, with his baggage on a pack-horse conducted by a servant on a third horse. "The animals were all powerful and active," but "so deep and adhesive was the mud that they did not reach Maysville—only sixty miles distant—until an early hour on the fourth day," although diligence on his part was not wanting. Students of this region had to overcome very great difficulties when they set out in search of instruction in the medical schools of Philadelphia.

On March 2, 1816, one thousand dollars were appropriated by the Trustees of Transylvania and placed in the hands of Doctor Blythe and John D. Clifford for the immediate purchase of chemical apparatus. Doctor

Blythe, who had been acting President of the University up to this time, resigned and accepted the position of Professor of Chemistry in the Medical Department.

In 1817 the Medical Faculty was further reorganized by the appointment of the late celebrated, talented Doctor Daniel Drake to the chair of *Materia Medica* and Medical Botany. The organization was then as follows:

Doctor Benjamin W. Dudley, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.

Doctor James Overton, Professor of Theory and Practice.

Doctor Daniel Drake, Professor of *Materia Medica* and Medical Botany.

Doctor William H. Richardson, Professor of Obstetrics, etc.

Doctor James Blythe, Professor of Chemistry, etc.

Doctor Drake has stated that twenty pupils attended this course of lectures, and the degree of M. D. was—for the first time in Lexington—conferred on John Lawson McCullough of this city.

Each professor lectured three times a week, and his ticket was fifteen dollars. During this session ill feelings arose between Doctors Dudley and Drake, leading



DOCTOR WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON.

From a Portrait by Jouett.

to the duel between Doctors Dudley and Richardson already described.¹

Doctor Drake resigned his professorship and returned to Cincinnati at the end of this session, returning subsequently in 1823 to occupy the same chair, to resign it again in 1827. Professor Richardson did not lecture this session. He, not having yet received the degree of M. D., was allowed to be absent.²

PROFESSOR WILLIAM HALL RICHARDSON

Taught in the Medical Department of Transylvania until the time of his death in 1844, and was highly respected by his pupils as a practical teacher in his especial chair, notwithstanding he had not the advantage of early educational training. He was a man of great energy and of many admirable traits of character. His pupil, the late Lewis Rogers, M. D., in his address as

¹Doctor C. C. Graham relates, in reference to student life about this time: "Dead bodies at that day were not articles of commerce, so we, the students, had to disinter them; and we once had a battle, so published in the newspapers, at the old Baptist graveyard—the Battle of the Graveyard, so-called—when taking up the Irishman that caused the duel (between Dudley and Richardson). We were taken prisoners by an armed guard and hauled up to the court-house for trial, but there was no law to make the dead private property, so the declaration of Scripture that from dust we came and unto dust we must return let us off by paying one cent damages for taking that much clay or soil. At another time, near Nicholasville, we were pursued when making our way to our horses hitched outside an orchard fence, and one ball of several fired lodged in the subject, on my back." (Letter of Doctor Graham.)

²It seems Doctor Drake had obtained an honorary degree for Richardson.

President of the Kentucky State Medical Society in 1873, thus spoke of his old preceptor and friend:

“Few men ever had nobler traits of character. He was warm-hearted, brave, and a sincere friend. I knew him from my earliest boyhood, and have passed away many happy and instructive hours at his magnificent home in Fayette County.¹ His hospitality was profuse and elegant. I listened to his public teachings as a professor with interest and care, because I knew he taught the truth as far as he possessed it. He was not scholarly or graceful and fluent as a lecturer, but he was ardent and impressive, sufficiently learned in his special branch, and had at his command a large stock of ripe experience. I honor his memory beyond most men I have known.”

In 1819, a new and brilliant era for the University, and for the Medical Department of Transylvania, was inaugurated by the appointment of Reverend Horace Holley, LL. D., to the Presidency of the University. Doctor Samuel Brown was recalled to the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, which he retained until 1825. Doctor Charles Caldwell was induced to remove from Philadelphia, where he had an official connection with the University of Pennsylvania, and to accept the

¹“Caneland,” which now forms a beautiful portion of L. V. Harkness’ Walnut Hall Stock Farm, where the old house still stands, with Richardson’s name on the brass knocker of the front door.

chair of the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica here, thus completing the organization with the existing professors, Benjamin W. Dudley and William H. Richardson, and the election of Reverend James Blythe to the chair of Chemistry. The celebrated naturalist, C. S. Rafinesque, was advertised to lecture on Botany and Natural History in this and the following year.¹

CONSTANTINE SAMUEL RAFINESQUE,²

A naturalist, antiquarian, etc., who stated in 1836 "that in knowledge he had been a botanist, naturalist, conchologist, zoologist, geographer, esentographer, physiologist, historian, antiquary, poet, philosopher, economist, and philanthropist; and by profession a traveler, merchant, manufacturer, collector, improver, professor,

¹The full Faculty of Transylvania, published 1821, was: President, Reverend Horace Holley, A. M., A. A. S.; Honorable William T. Barry, LL. D., Professor of Law; Charles Caldwell, M. D., Dean, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and teacher of Materia Medica, with a private class in Medical Jurisprudence; Samuel Brown, M. D., Theory and Practice; Benjamin W. Dudley, M. D., Anatomy and Surgery; William H. Richardson, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Reverend James Blythe, D. D., Professor of Chemistry; Reverend Robert H. Bishop, A. M., Natural Philosophy, Geography, Chronology, and History, giving with the President instruction in the voluntary theological class; John Roche, A. M., Ancient Languages and secretary of Faculty; John F. Jenkins, A. B., Professor of Mathematics and Librarian; Constantine S. Rafinesque, Professor of Natural History and Botany and teacher of the Modern Languages; Nicholas D. Coleman, A. B., and Charles S. Morehead, A. B., tutors of the Preparatory Department.

²For Rafinesque see *Life of Rafinesque*, by R. Ellsworth Call, published by The Filson Club, 1895.

teacher, surveyor, draftsman, architect, engineer, author, editor, bookseller, librarian, secretary, chancellor, etc.” —and believed he could have been any thing, as he “always succeeded in whatever he undertook.” This statement gives a key to his life, which was one of great and untiring activity, as well as to his mental character, which enabled him to acquire the reputation of being one of the most learned men of his day. Born in Galata, Constantinople, the son of a merchant, in 1784, after living in France and Italy he came to America in 1802, returning to France in 1805, with a very large botanical collection. Spending ten years in Sicily in making natural history collections and writing various essays, he published in 1815 his *Analysis of Nature*. The same year he sailed for America, but was wrecked on Long Island, losing most of his collections and effects. Induced to come West from Philadelphia by John D. Clifford, of Lexington, in 1818, he was elected Professor of Botany and Natural History in Transylvania University in 1819, lectured to the students in the Medical College, was librarian, and taught French, Spanish, and Italian.¹ He also traveled and made collections in botany, natural history, etc., publishing various papers

¹We find the announcement in a local newspaper of November 19, 1819, that the inauguration of the medical professors and Professors Rafinesque and Bradford took place “at the Episcopal Meeting House on yesterday” with music, etc.

and pamphlets and preparing materials for his proposed great work, *Tellus, or the History of the Earth and Mankind, Chiefly in America*, of which in ten years he had, he said, prepared five thousand pages of manuscript and five hundred maps and figures. An idea of what this work might have been may be gathered from a remarkable essay—*Ancient History or Annals of Kentucky*—which was published in 1824 as an introduction to *Marshall's History of Kentucky*, in which, in twenty-eight small octavo pages, he professes to give not only the migrations, changes, filiations, annals, and descriptions of all the various tribes and peoples which inhabited Kentucky since the creation of man, but gives also a history of all the changes of geology and natural history, according to his views and in accordance with Mosaic cosmogony, substituting epochs for days, however. An essay which may be characterized as a very terse and dry recital of numerous doubtful statements, woven in a web of very audacious speculation. His success as a teacher in Transylvania was not great. He died in Philadelphia September 18, 1840, having published in 1836 his life, travels, and researches in North America and Europe from 1802 to 1835, and several small works on natural history, botany, etc.

A project inaugurated by Rafinesque while professor in Transylvania was that of a botanic garden at Lex-

ington called "The Botanical Garden of Transylvania University." A company was chartered by Act of Legislature January 7, 1824, with a capital stock of twenty-five thousand dollars, five hundred shares of fifty dollars each. William H. Richardson, President; Thomas Smith, Joseph Ficklin, John M. McCalla, Thomas L. Caldwell, Directors; William A. Leavy, Treasurer; C. S. Rafinesque, Secretary. Other members were William Leavy, senior, Elisha Warfield, J. Harper, James W. Palmer, Horace Holley, Charles Caldwell, Benjamin W. Dudley, Charles Humphreys, Gabriel Slaughter, Thomas Wallace, John Roche, Charles Wilkins, Benjamin Gratz, Richard Higgins, John W. Hunt, B. R. McIlvaine, Joseph Boswell, Samuel Brown, and Daniel Drake. We gather from the prospectus (1824) that this garden was intended to be a charming resort for the elite of Lexington, who were expected to stroll at eve, perchance, through sylvan bowers; it was also to benefit farmers and "the whole Western country" by supplying "the best kinds of fruit trees and grape vines, mountain rice, madder, senna, opium, ginseng, rhubarb, castor oil, new kinds of grain and pulse, etc." It was to be valuable especially to the medical students of Transylvania by affording opportunity to study the plants used in medicine. The single product of opium, it was judged, could be made to cover

the annual expense of the garden. There was to be "a small but elegant building, with a portico, green-house, aviaries, bowers, museum, library, and many other suitable ornaments." Lectures and "practical demonstrations" were to be given there in Botany, Agriculture, Horticulture, Domestic Economy, etc. "Every individual admitted in the garden to hear a course of lectures" to pay "at least one dollar." To these ends a lot was procured on the south side of East Main Street,¹ within the city limits, and gardening operations commenced; but the garden was not a success. Though patronized for a time, as in duty bound, by its influential shareholders and diligently strolled in by the friends, principally, of the medical students, it was, after the departure from Lexington of Rafinesque, finally pronounced to be nothing more than a weed-patch and abandoned before any building was erected on it. In fact, from the testimony of old citizens, it would appear that no improvements were ever made there except the laying out of wide walks and the planting of various shrubs and wild flowers, chiefly such as were common upon the highways in Kentucky, but which unquestionably seemed remarkable to

¹"A fine lot of nine and three quarters acres belonging to Mr. Joseph Megowan, at the rate of one hundred dollars in specie per acre, with a small rent of two dollars and fifty cents per acre until paid."

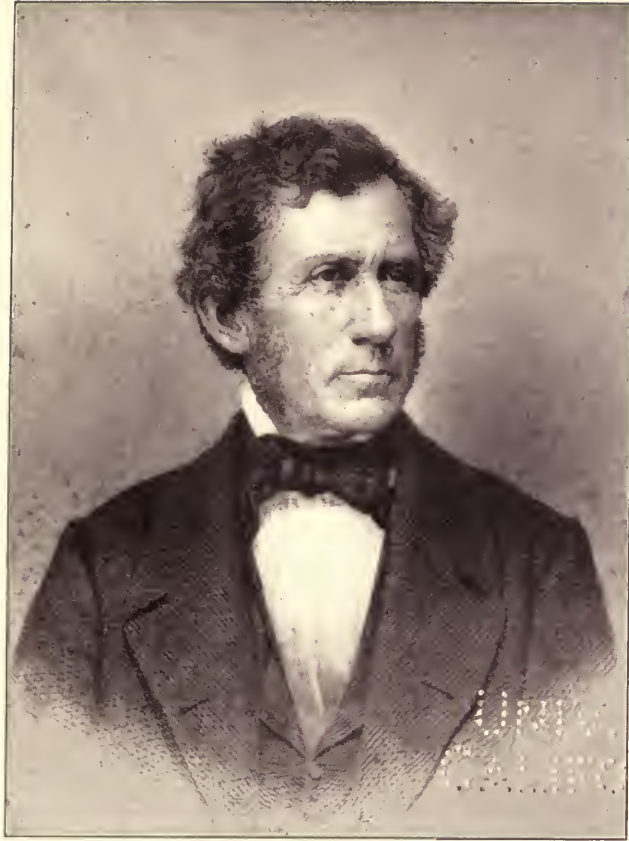
Rafinesque, who viewed them with the eye of a botanist exclusively.

The organization of the Medical Faculty of 1819, already described, remained unchanged until 1823, when Doctor Daniel Drake was recalled to the chair of *Materia Medica* and Medical Botany, Doctor Caldwell retaining that of the Institutes of Medicine. The chair of Chemistry was also strengthened by the appointment of Doctor Robert Best¹ as adjunct professor, who resigned, however, at the end of two years. Doctor Drake was transferred in 1825 to the chair of Theory and Practice on the resignation of Doctor Samuel Brown, and Doctor Charles Wilkins Short was called to that vacated by Doctor Drake. Doctor Drake resigned finally in 1826, to be replaced by Doctor John Esten Cooke. We will not in this place note all the changes which occurred in the Faculty up to the time of its dissolution, but will append them in the form of a schedule. (See Schedule A.)

DANIEL DRAKE, M. D.

Born at Plainfield, New Jersey, October 20, 1785, and brought to Mason County, Kentucky, in 1788, was, in 1800, the first medical student in Cincinnati. He began

¹ Doctor Best, a graduate of Transylvania Medical Department in 1826, died at Lexington, Kentucky, September, 1830, aged about forty-five years.



DANIEL DRAKE, M. D.

to practice in 1804, when he was only nineteen years old. He spent the winter of 1805-6 as a student in Philadelphia, and the succeeding year in practice at his old home in Mayslick, removing for life to Cincinnati in 1807.

He was made Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Botany in Transylvania University in 1817, but returned to Cincinnati to found the Medical College of Ohio in 1818, from which, however, his connection was suddenly severed, after a bitter controversy, May, 1822. He resumed a professorship at Lexington 1823-27, being Dean of the Faculty, and declined a chair in the University of Virginia in 1830. He accepted one in the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, 1830-31, and again in the Medical College of Ohio in 1831-32. He founded a new school as a department of Cincinnati College and taught in it 1835-39; was professor in the Louisville Medical Institute 1839-49, and afterward accepted a chair in the Medical College again in 1849-50. In 1827 he was editor of the *Western Medical and Physical Journal*, etc., but his chief work is his *Treatise on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of America*, published in 1850—a wonderful tribute to American medical science. His contributions to scientific journals were numerous, and many of his medical lectures and scientific and his-

torical addresses have been published.¹ He died at Cincinnati November 5, 1852, aged sixty-seven years.²

Doctor David W. Yandell says: "As a lecturer Doctor Drake had few equals. He was never dull. His was an alert and masculine mind. His words are full of vitality. His manner was earnest and impressive. His eloquence was fervid." Soon after Doctor Yandell had entered the practice of medicine Doctor Drake told him: "I have never seen a great and permanent practice the foundations of which were not laid in the hearts of the poor. Therefore cultivate the poor. If you need another though sordid reason, the poor of to-day are the rich of to-morrow in this country. The poor will be the most grateful of all your patients. Lend a willing ear to all their calls."

Such enthusiasm in the establishment of the Medical Department of Transylvania existed at this time (1819) that liberal citizens of Lexington freely subscribed money to the amount of more than three thousand dollars to

¹Of Doctor Drake, Doctor S. D. Gross says: "Emphatically a self-made man, he possessed genius of a superior order and successfully coped with his colleagues for the highest place in the school (Transylvania). Of all the medical teachers I have ever known he was, all things considered, one of the most able, captivating, and impressive. There was an earnestness, a fiery zeal about him in the lecture-room which encircled him, as it were, with a halo of glory." (Autobiographical sketch of Doctor Short, Page 10.)

²Mostly from *Collins' History of Kentucky*, second edition.

guarantee to Professors Caldwell and Brown each an annual sum of a thousand dollars for three years, and this salary was paid to them accordingly. Professor Caldwell visiting the Legislature of Kentucky in 1820, induced that body to give five thousand dollars for the express purpose of the purchase of books and apparatus for the Medical College in Transylvania University, which, as declared in the Act, was to remain "the property of the State of Kentucky."

Moreover, the city of Lexington at the same time loaned to the college, for the same specified purpose, six thousand dollars, reserving a lien on the books. This loan subsequently became a donation. In addition many physicians of the South, of Kentucky, and of Lexington made further subscriptions, making altogether a gross sum of about thirteen thousand dollars, with which Professor Caldwell was enabled to purchase in Europe, in 1820, the foundation of the library, apparatus, and museum of the Medical Department.¹

Again, in 1827, certain citizens of Lexington and medical professors, forming a joint-stock company, fur-

¹*Lexington Reporter*, March 5, 1821: "\$17,000 are to be expended in Europe this year for the Medical Department. Doctor Caldwell (the agent) is already on his way. \$5,000 only is the gift of the Legislature, while \$6,000 rest upon the responsibility of Lexington alone and \$6,000 upon that of *six individuals* in the town who have generously stepped forward in this manner to anticipate the too cautious bounty of the Legislature."

nished the means to build the first Medical Hall for the special uses of this department, on which, until 1839, when a new Medical Hall was erected, the medical professors paid an annual interest of six per cent on the cost. This old hall stood, before it was destroyed by fire (in 1854, while being used as a City Hall, etc.), on the site of the Lexington City Library, corner of Market and Church streets. It is thus described in the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, Volume 1, 1828: "This building, a vignette view of which is seen on the cover of this Journal, was erected by the private munificence of citizens of Lexington during the last season. The corner-stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies on the fifteenth day of April, and the edifice was complete and in readiness for the reception of the medical class at the commencement of the session the first of November.

"In an excavation made in the corner-stone was deposited a glass bottle enclosing a parchment roll on which were written the name of the President of the United States, those of the heads of departments, the Trustees of Transylvania University, the medical professors, trustees of the town, officers of the Grand Lodge who assisted at the ceremony, building committee, architect, etc. On a marble tablet over the front door of the house is the following inscription:

COLL. TRANSYL. MEDIC.

FUND. A. D. MDCCCXVII.

“Though plain and unostentatious, the style of its architecture is chaste and neat, its execution is solid and substantial, and its interior arrangements are of the most convenient, comfortable, and commodious kind.

“The basement story of the building is chiefly appropriated to the chemical professorship and contains a lecture-room forty-five by fifty feet in dimensions, in which the seats and lecturing stand are arranged in the best manner for perfect vision, a lobby, an anti-room, a chemical laboratory well supplied with all necessary apparatus, and a dormitory for a resident pupil who acts as librarian.

“These in connection with the very handsome and commodious anatomical amphitheater which was built during the preceding season, together with its preparing- and dissecting-rooms, present a suit of lecture-rooms, apartments, etc., not surpassed in point of excellence of light for demonstration, or in ease, comfort, and convenience to the pupil by any similar institution in America. The whole is situated in a pleasant and central part of the town, easily acces-

sible from the chief boarding-houses in the worst weather."^{1 2}

From the time of the reorganization in 1819, the classes in the Medical College increased rapidly—from only twenty, with a single graduate in 1817-18, to two hundred students and fifty-six graduates in the session of 1823-24. A rapid increase in patronage almost unparalleled in the history of medical schools, owing, no doubt, largely to the great increasing demand for medical instruction in this fast improving country and to the temporary extreme difficulty of the journey to the great medical school of Philadelphia, but also to the *eclat* of the University under the administration of Doctor Holley,³ to the just fame of Doctor Dudley as a surgeon and medical teacher, to the reputation of Doctor Samuel Brown as a popular and cultivated physician and professor, and to the brilliant and popular talents of Doctor Charles Caldwell.

¹The oration at the laying of the corner-stone was made by William T. Barry. The Trustees of Transylvania at that time were John Bradford, Thomas Bodley, Charles Humphreys, Benjamin Gratz, Elisha Warfield, James Fishback, John W. Hunt, James Trotter, Elisha I. Winter, George T. Chapman, William Leavy, Charles Wilkins, and George C. Light.

²The same year, October 13, 1828: "The Board joined in a procession to the Episcopal Church, where the Reverend Alva Woods, D. D., was publicly installed as President of the Transylvania University." One thousand copies of his inaugural address to be printed for the Board.

³Edward Everett, in a letter of introduction to Sir Walter Scott presented to Mr. Holley when intending to visit Europe, says of him: "As a philosopher, a scholar, and a gentleman he has left no superior in America."

DOCTOR CHARLES CALDWELL.

The association of this distinguished professor with the fortunes of the Medical Department of Transylvania, which extended from 1819 to 1837, marked the era of its most rapid development, and embraced a large portion of the time of its greatest prosperity.

The life, character, and writings of Doctor Caldwell are no doubt now well known to the medical profession through the numerous biographical notices which have appeared, especially those by the late Professor Lunsford P. Yandell, M. D., in Lindley's *Medical Annals of Tennessee*, and as amplified in the *Transactions* of the Kentucky State Medical Society in its twenty-first annual session in 1876, and other published sketches. But it may also be studied in his somewhat unfortunate *Autobiography*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1855, two years after his death, edited by the sister of his widow, Miss Harriet W. Warner.

It is said of Titian, that when in his old age he took it into his head to *improve* some of his best pictures by retouching them, his judicious pupils mixed his paints with olive oil so they would not dry and could be easily washed off again, thus restraining him from marring or destroying his finest works and his fame together. For-

tunate would it have been for the venerable Doctor Caldwell had much of this senile production—written only seven or eight years before his death—been canceled by a friendly hand. The too harsh criticisms in which he indulged, which placed some of his late colleagues sharply on the defensive and which also gave them powerful weapons of offense, as well as defense, had then been suppressed!

On Page 315 of this autobiography he characterized the time-honored maxim, "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," as "an ill-founded and dangerous precept." Hence Doctor Yandell, whom he had denounced in this work in the most opprobrious terms, felt justified in his notice of this autobiography in his paper on the *Medical Literature of Kentucky*, published in the *Transactions of the Kentucky State Medical Society*, 1876, Page 62, in the following terms: "It is not only egotistical and vain-glorious beyond anything, I believe, to be found in the English language, but it is at the same time defamatory. The author holds himself up to admiration on all occasions and everywhere from boyhood to old age a very hero of romance." And literal quotations from the unfortunate volume give support to these allegations.

Under the provocation of Doctor Caldwell's posthumous attack, Doctor Yandell defended himself and



CHARLES CALDWELL, M. D.

retorted with the weapons which Doctor Caldwell himself had supplied. But, in later years, not long before his death, Doctor Yandell expressed to the writer, in a friendly letter, something like regret that he had not in this case adhered more closely to that maxim in relation to the dead, above quoted, which Doctor Caldwell had condemned as "ill-founded and dangerous." It must be admitted, however, that the provocation was great.¹

Doctor Caldwell was born, the youngest son of a large family, May 14, 1772, in Caswell County, North Carolina, and died in Louisville July 9, 1853, in his eighty-third year. His parents had emigrated from Ireland. His father—who was described by Doctor James Blythe, who knew him, as "very poor, and very, very pious"—destined Charles for the Presbyterian ministry. Accordingly he was measurably released from the labor of the farm on which the family lived and was allowed to pursue his studies in a solitary log hut which he had built for himself for the purpose—"his books his chief companions."

He says he commenced to learn the ancient languages at twelve, and was already principal of a literary academy at eighteen. He says further of himself: "From an early period of my life I was actuated by a form of ambition and a love of disquisition and mental contest, which

¹See Pages 405-7, Autobiography of Doctor Charles Caldwell.

not only marked in me somewhat of a peculiarity of native mind and spirit, but tended also to strengthen them." In his subsequent life he delighted in debates, discussions, and mental contests. He acknowledges (Page 53) an early propensity to array himself in argument "on the wrong side of the question under consideration, in order the more certainly to produce discussion by my advocacy of a paradox, and to make a show of my ingenuity and ability in defense of error."

But, as he acknowledged, "this kind of gladiatorship began to blunt his appreciation of truth as distinguished from error, and hence he endeavored to restrain this impulse"—not always successfully, perhaps.

Although his taste and talents inclined him to the legal profession he was induced to study medicine, somewhat against his own judgment. His medical education was obtained in Philadelphia, in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, then the only medical college in America, which he entered in 1792, and from which he graduated. While there he industriously employed his time and faculties in study, debate, and discussion, and his pen in numerous publications, the principal of which was a translation of Blumenbach's *Elements of Physiology*—which he completed before graduation. He managed to antagonize, amongst many

others, his medical preceptor, the celebrated Doctor Rush, much to his own detriment, as he in his autobiography acknowledges.

In the following year, 1793, on the outbreak of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, he distinguished himself by his courage and self-sacrifice in voluntarily attending and nursing the sick. And again, by his pen and otherwise, in theoretical discussions on the origin of the pestilence.

According to his own representations and the testimony of his friends, he was exceedingly methodical in his habits, dividing his time with rigorous system; but we may well feel a little skeptical as to his assertion that he "rarely slept more than four hours," and at one time but three hours and a half. His mental activity and labor, however, in his youth, must have been very great. Apart from his necessary studies and his active and constant participation in the discussions of the Medical Society, he delivered more public addresses, for the Society and on other occasions, "than all the other members of the institution united" (Page 254), besides employing his pen in numerous ephemeral productions for the press.

In speaking of his early life in Philadelphia (Page 330) he says: "I was a young man for the scenes in which

I had acted; proud and ambitious certainly, and probably not altogether untinctured with vanity. . . . In truth it is hardly to be denied that, for a time at least, I was somewhat spoiled [by the compliments paid him] on account of my attributes and performances, both mental and corporal. . . . No wonder, therefore, that I felt, or conceited I felt, a decided superiority to most medical pupils, as well as the ordinary cast of young physicians. . . . I certainly did both indulge and manifest it to the extent, at times, of giving serious offense." This was not the worst. His bold self-confidence and assertion having placed him in a position of antagonism toward his friend and preceptor, Doctor Rush, as well as toward other influential medical men of Philadelphia, defeated the great ambition of his life—that of occupying the chair of the Institutes of Medicine in the Medical College of the University of Pennsylvania.

When informed by Doctor Rush (Page 290, autobiography) that although his friends spoke in flattering terms of "your talents, attainments, and powers in lecturing and instruction . . . they are reluctant to recommend you to the Board of Trustees in the light of a professor," he indignantly declared that "if the door of the University of Pennsylvania was thus closed to him he would soon occupy a chair equally honorable with that

of Doctor Rush in some other school." And he shortly thereafter was induced to push his fortunes in the great and growing West.

Coming to Lexington with his shining and commanding talents, his determination to conquer success, and the brilliant reputation he then had as an independent writer and lecturer; to become associated with the yet more brilliant President Holley, and the already well-known and appreciated medical teachers, Doctors Dudley and Brown; at an auspicious time when the rapidly improving country felt the want of medical instruction at home—the rapid success of the Medical Department of Transylvania (to which he materially contributed by his able efforts before the public) might well excuse him in his belief¹ that he had come to Lexington to be the "*premier of the school*,"² that he had come to train and induct his colleagues ("a most miserable Faculty," he calls them) into efficiency and fame, and that the success of medical education in Lexington was due mainly to his individual efforts. Candor obliges us to admit, however, that there is some truth in the statement of the late Professor Yandell, in the memoir above quoted. Doctor Yandell was a student in the Medical Department of Transylvania in 1823, and a most ardent admirer of

¹See Autobiography.

²He was Dean of the Faculty.

the brilliant talents of Professor Caldwell, yet he found that both Professors Dudley and Drake were more popular with the students, as teachers, than he. He says (Page 56): "Students, in truth, generally turned listlessly away from his polished discourses on Sympathy, Phrenology,¹ the Vital Principle, and other kindred themes, and hurried off to the lectures on Materia Medica and Anatomy."²

In short, Doctor Caldwell excelled in the brilliant discussion of speculative and theoretical subjects. The extent of his positive knowledge, as remarked by Doctor Yandell, was greater in superficial area than in depth; whilst in the terse and lucid exposition of definite facts, which characterized the instruction of Professor Dudley, the student felt he was acquiring knowledge which not only was real but was of practical utility.

The history of the *rise and fall* of this school of medicine is illustrated in the detailed list of its classes and graduates as shown in the annexed *Schedule B*.

¹It has been said that Doctor Caldwell was the first person of note to take up the study of Phrenology in this country.

²Of Doctor Caldwell, Doctor Gross says: "A more majestic figure on the rostrum could hardly be imagined. Tall and erect in person, with a noble head and a piercing black eye, he was the *beau ideal* of an elegant, entertaining, and accomplished lecturer. He was eloquent, but too artificial, for he had cultivated elocution too much before the mirror." (Autobiographical sketch of Doctor C. W. Short, Page 10.)

The total number of students in the Medical School of Transylvania during the term of its existence was, as far as can now be ascertained, more than six thousand four hundred (6,456); the total number of its medical graduates eighteen hundred and eighty-one (1,881).¹ During the late civil war the commodious Medical Hall of Transylvania, built in 1839 by the munificence of the city of Lexington, and which had been seized by the United States Government for use as a United States General Hospital, was destroyed by fire while occupied

¹Doctor Caldwell says (1834): "This institution has been in operation *fourteen* years. . . . According to its record book its classes and the degrees conferred by it have been as follows:

Years.	Number of Pupils.	Number of Degrees.	Years.	Number of Pupils.	Number of Degrees.
1819-20.	37	7	1828- 9.	206	40
1820- 1.	93	13	1829-30.	199	81
1821- 2.	138	37	1830- 1.	210	52
1822- 3.	171	51	1831- 2.	215	74
1823- 4.	200	47	1832- 3.	222	69
1824- 5.	234	57	1833- 4.	262	..
1825- 6.	281	65			
1826- 7.	190	53	Total	2,810	699
1827- 8.	152	53			

"It is believed from this view of it that for its vigorous prosperity and the rapid increase of its classes, the Medical School of Transylvania is without a parallel. Certainly in the United States there is nothing comparable to it. At the commencement of the present century, when the Medical School of Philadelphia had been in operation about forty years, it did not number more, we believe, than 200 pupils. It now contains about 400—rumor says a few more. In *thirty-three* years, then, that school has added about 200 to its classes, while *in less than half that time* the school of Transylvania has *formed* a class of 262. This is the highest eulogy the institution can receive." (Doctor Caldwell to Lexington Medical Society, 1834, "On the Impolicy of Multiplying Schools of Medicine.")

for that purpose.¹ But the medical library,² apparatus and museum, etc., were mainly preserved, and are now in the custody of the Curators of Kentucky University, with which institution old Transylvania University was consolidated in 1865, "all the trusts and conditions" of her property being preserved in the Act of Consolidation.

The Medical Department may yet be resuscitated when in the course of events our city again becomes an eligible site for modern medical instruction, and when special means can be obtained properly to equip and re-establish it on a basis suited to the existing times.

¹At the time of the formation of the "Transylvania Institute" (February 20, 1839), under articles of agreement between the city of Lexington and the Trustees of Transylvania University (see Deed Book No. 17, Page 42, office Fayette County Court), the city endowed the University with seventy thousand dollars; forty-five thousand dollars was to build a new medical hall and provide additional library and apparatus for the same, five thousand dollars for the Law Department, and twenty thousand dollars for Morrison College, securing permanent scholarships in each college. In consequence of a want of harmony in the Board of Trustees as to the location of the proposed medical hall, the medical professors and their friends felt obliged to purchase a lot (corner of Broadway and Second Street, where Doctor Bush's residence was afterward built) at a cost of five thousand dollars, although there was abundant space on the University grounds. This lot, to purchase which citizens contributed three thousand dollars of the five thousand, was given in trust to the University—but, by an unauthorized clause in the deed of conveyance, the lot and the medical hall erected on it at a cost of about thirty-five thousand dollars reverted to the city about 1860. On this building, which was burned during the Civil War, the medical professors also paid out of their own incomes the surplus cost over thirty thousand dollars which had been provided by the city. The medical professors also each contributed annually to the medical library, etc., ten dollars.

²There remain of this library five thousand, six hundred and eighty-four volumes; pamphlets and medical journals, seven hundred and fifty-four; bound volumes of theses, one hundred and thirty-eight, at Kentucky University.

The gradual decline of this school, like its rapid rise, was due greatly to the changing conditions of the country. When, shortly after 1812, steamboat navigation began to manifest its superiority and influence on the channels of commerce, population and business deserted measurably the interior routes and locations and transferred themselves to the river valleys and neighborhoods. Gradually during this change—notwithstanding the talents, ability, and fame of our Brown, Dudley, Caldwell, Cooke, Short, Yandell, Bartlett, Mitchell, Smith, and others, and the generous support of the city—the school declined; more especially because of the establishment of rival colleges at more eligible points, in growing and populous cities. Lexington lost its pre-eminence as the “*Metropolis of the Western Country*,” and Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, and other places which had been villages supplied with her manufactures, rapidly became great cities; while she declined from a population of about eight thousand in 1814, down to a little over four thousand in 1820, with an immense loss to her citizens in the value of her property and the destruction of her industries. In this year (1820) the population of Cincinnati, which in 1810 had been only two thousand, three hundred and twenty, had risen to nine thousand, six hundred and forty-four; and in 1830, when the population

of Lexington was yet only five thousand, six hundred and sixty-two, that of Cincinnati was twenty-four thousand, eight hundred and thirty-one. When the present writer came to Lexington in 1832 the population had remained nearly the same, and an era of decrepitude and decline of all her industries still prevailed. Lexington had not yet finished her first railroad.

This railroad, the "Lexington & Ohio," was begun in 1831 and completed as far as Frankfort—twenty-eight miles—in 1835. It was composed of stone sills laid side by side, with a dressed surface on the portion upon which the wheels were to run. The cars resembled an old pattern of street car and were drawn by horses.

The imposing ceremony of laying the first "stone sill" took place on Water Street, October 21, 1831, "amid a vast throng of people." Indeed, it was made a very great occasion, which might have been marked with still greater pomp and circumstance, as the newspapers inform us, had "more notice been given beforehand." As it was, a large procession, civic and military, was formed, marshaled by General Leslie Combs, the renowned "boy-captain of 1812," assisted by handsome James B. Coleman. Three military companies, including "Hunt's Artillery" and "Captain Neet's Rifle Guards," were on parade with a fine military band playing "Yankee

Doodle," "Hail, Columbia," and other patriotic airs. Major-General Pendleton and staff, on horseback, led the march. Governor Metcalfe and Reverend Nathan H. Hall supported the orator of the day. The Trustees of the town, the President and Directors of the railroad, the President and all the officers and Trustees of Transylvania University, and all the societies of the University and of the town, were in line. "At eleven o'clock," says the *Lexington Reporter*, "the three military companies which formed the escort marched from the place of rendezvous to the college lawn, where they were met by the various societies and individuals. For many years we have not witnessed such a pageant, and never a more interesting.

"The procession first moved in a circle around the lawn where it was formed, at which time the bells in the various churches in town commenced a merry peal which continued till the procession reached the place where the ceremony was performed. The military escort then formed a hollow square, within which the whole civic procession was enclosed. Thousands of anxious and delighted spectators were on the outside, among whom we were gratified to see a large concourse of ladies, for whose accommodation the marshal had directed the adjacent market-house to be appropriated.

“Doctor Caldwell then delivered a highly interesting and appropriate address.

“A Federal salute was fired at sunrise, and seven guns when the first stone sill was laid, indicating the seven sections of the road under contract.”

Doctor Caldwell spoke in polished and eloquent phrase of the advantages accruing to Lexington and the whole adjacent country from the establishment of this road. He prophesied also great benefit to Louisville therefrom.

We learn from the same old newspaper that Doctor Caldwell was announced to deliver a lecture, a few evenings later, at the first meeting of the “Lexington Lyceum,” at the court house. The subject of the lecture was “The Moral and Incidental Influences of Railroads.” “Ladies and strangers” were invited to attend.

But in later days, in competition with the steamboat, the newer and swifter mode of transportation—the railroad—has been gradually but surely restoring to the inland regions, and to Lexington, their lost prosperity. Our city has steadily risen to about seventeen thousand (1873), with a good prospect of a further increase of prosperity and population as railroads centering here may be extended. Then may we hope to put into active operation once more our time-honored Medical College, and to attract to it a creditable number of students. More

particularly if, with the co-operation of the more enlightened members of our profession, an effort be faithfully made in the renovated college to bring about the much-needed reform in medical education, the necessity for which is now generally recognized. So that the mere fact of a student attending two courses of lectures, with other somewhat easy requisitions, may not entitle him to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, as has been too frequently the case amongst competing medical colleges. That full preparation and training, in a sufficient period of time, shall be required of the candidates into whose hands the health and lives of communities are to be committed. On such a basis—when our city may have acquired increased facilities for clinical instruction, and when anatomical studies will not be cramped for want of means of demonstration—the old Medical College of Transylvania may revive under the wing of a people's educational institution such as Transylvania is and always was—a "*State University*."

Difficulties in the procurement of a sufficient supply of material for anatomical instruction, coupled with the demand for clinical teaching which was beginning to be urged by the profession, forced themselves on the attention of the Medical Faculty of Transylvania before the year 1836-37. But in that year a determined effort was

made, engineered and led by Professor Caldwell, to remove the Medical College to Louisville, that city having been induced by the earnest and eloquent appeals of Caldwell to offer it a large bonus. But for the early withdrawal of Doctor Dudley from this promising scheme, toward which he was at first inclined—because mainly of his difficulties in the supply of anatomical material—it would have been successful. But Doctor Dudley finally declined to remove, much to the mortification of Doctor Caldwell, who, in his last valedictory to the graduates of 1837, indulged in a very bitter impersonal-personal tirade against deception and mendacity, aimed at Doctor Dudley—not saying openly to his colleague “thou art the man”—but hoping “the cap would fit him” and find its place. The Trustees of the University, of course, and influential citizens, violently opposed the proposed change. Doctor Caldwell was arraigned before the Board on charges preferred by Doctor Dudley, the principal of which was that he had been engaged in the enterprise of originating a rival medical college in Louisville while he was yet a professor in the Transylvania College and under oath to support it. Doctor Caldwell, disdaining to answer the summons of the Board, was, after a long and full investigation of the evidence, dismissed from

his chair in Transylvania. The Medical Faculty was then dissolved and reorganized.¹

Doctors Cooke and Yandell, and finally Doctor Short, joined Doctor Caldwell to aid in the establishment of the *Louisville Medical Institute*. Professors Dudley and Richardson and the assistant professors, Bush and Peter, remained in Lexington. The celebrated Professor John Eberle was called to the chair of Theory and Practice, but he died shortly after the delivery of his introductory lecture. Professor Thomas D. Mitchell was appointed to the chair of Chemistry, etc., and Doctor James C. Cross to that of the Institutes of Medicine.²

¹In the session following this disintegration of the school Doctor Thomas D. Mitchell says, in his Historical Catalogue of the Medical School, 1838: "Notwithstanding the great pecuniary embarrassments of the country and the peculiar circumstances accompanying the late disorganization, the number of pupils fell short but fifteen of the previous session."

²Doctor Mitchell at this time says: "The entire course of lectures in this school costs the sum of *one hundred and five dollars*. In addition the matriculation fee, which entitles the pupil to use of the very extensive library, is *five dollars*. The dissecting ticket is *ten dollars*, and may be taken or omitted at pleasure." The qualifications for candidates for the degree of Doctor of Medicine: "The persons offering must be 21 years of age and must have been engaged in the study of medicine during three years. Two full courses of lectures in a chartered medical school (the last of which in this institution) are also requisite. But persons who exhibit satisfactory proof of having been engaged in reputable practice for the space of four years may be candidates by attending one course of lectures, which must be in this school. Each candidate is required to exhibit all his tickets to the Dean before his name can be enrolled. The fee for graduation is \$20." (See Doctor Mitchell's Historical Catalogue, 1838.)

DOCTOR JOHN ESTEN COOKE

Removed from Virginia in 1827 to fill the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Transylvania University, which had just been vacated by Doctor Drake. He had already acquired a high reputation as a practitioner of medicine; he had published an able essay on autumnal fever in the *Medical Recorder* for 1824, and had in the same year produced the first volume of his very remarkable *Treatise on Pathology and Therapeutics*, the second volume of which he published in Lexington in 1828. The promised third volume, which was to complete the work, never appeared. He remained in Transylvania Medical School until 1837, when, under the leadership of Doctor Caldwell, he, with Doctor Yandell, removed to Louisville to engage in originating a new medical college, the "*Louisville Medical Institute*." In this and in its successor, the "*Medical Department of the Louisville University*," he remained until a few years before his death, which occurred on his farm on the Ohio River above Louisville, October 19, 1853, in the seventy-first year of his age.

Doctor Cooke was in many respects a remarkable man, who acquired a widespread reputation in this country, especially in the Mississippi Valley. His fame was



DOCTOR JOHN ESTEN COOKE.

From a Photograph.

mainly built on his celebrated theory of the universal origin of disease, which was, that disease was caused by cold or malaria. That especially it commenced in weakened action of the heart, resulting in *congestion of the vena cava*, its branches and capillary distribution, and that fever was but the reaction of the vital force to overcome this condition, which unrelieved would result in death. According to him, all autumnal and malarial fevers were but variations of one diseased condition, and even those fearful scourges the plague, cholera, yellow fever, dysentery, etc., were simply varied forms and conditions of congestion of the *vena cava*.

To destroy this many-headed hydra—while he would use cold water to reduce too great febrile excitement and even sometimes give antimonial wine¹—his main reliance was on blood-letting and cholagogue purgatives, as he believed it was by increasing the secretion of the liver and causing it to pour out consistent “black bile” that the venous congestion was to be relieved and the patient cured.

Amongst all these remedies calomel was his chief reliance, and was given by him in doses not measured

¹This, with a strange prejudice against novelties, he recommended to be made by putting an indefinite quantity of glass of antimony in a bottle with wine, to digest for an uncertain period, adding more wine as the contents were withdrawn for use.

by the balance but by the effect they produced; so that in the latter days of practice—notably during the epidemic of cholera in Lexington in 1833—he absolutely resorted to tablespoonful doses of this mercurial, repeated *pro re nata*; actually giving about *one pound* in one day to a young patient, without fatal result.

Two cases may be quoted from his own paper in the *Transylvania Medical Journal*, and from Doctor Yandell's *Memoir of Doctor Cooke* in the *American Practitioner* for July, 1875. "William Douglass, a student of theology, nineteen years of age, took a tablespoonful (about two ounces) every six hours for three days in succession, having taken the same quantity the evening before; in all, thirteen tablespoonfuls. He was in collapse when he took the first dose. On the third morning after beginning this treatment his discharges were found to have become thick and green, and Doctor Cooke thought he would have recovered but for the indiscretion of his attendant, who had him to walk across a large room from one bed to another more than once. Hiccough came on, the patient became delirious, and died on the sixth day. But another patient recovered about this time under similar treatment, and still lives, I believe—a useful Episcopal clergyman, and an illustration of the extent to which calomel may be employed in some diseases

without injury to health. Mr. Brittan, a young theological student, took a tablespoonful of calomel soon after having had several copious watery discharges. He was advised to repeat the dose every six hours, until the watery discharges ceased. He took, that day, four and on the next, three of these doses; the discharges not ceasing until some time after the seventh dose had been taken. He took, moreover, three similar doses during the same time—having thrown up three. The *repeated doses* were given immediately after the regular ones were thrown up. Bilious discharges appeared on the evening of the second day, and were kept up by tincture of aloes and occasionally pills of aloes and rhubarb for a week. The patient was somewhat salivated, but recovered. I saw him a number of years afterwards in perfect health.”

Doctor Yandell asserts in this memoir that in this “extraordinary practice, Doctor Cooke was not less successful in the treatment of cholera than his medical brethren in Lexington.” But the fact was that none were very successful and that as many as fifty died in a day of a population of a little over six thousand.¹ The writer recollects that Doctor Cooke only practiced in the earlier period of this famous epidemic, having been

¹“From June 1 to August 1, 502 died.” (*Collins' History of Kentucky.*)

disabled by a fall in attempting, in his hurry to attend a professional call, to put on his coat while running down stairs.

In another case of cholera which occurred at this time, as the present writer was informed by the intelligent and truthful brother of the young lady patient of Doctor Cooke, these large tablespoonful doses passed through the bowels apparently unchanged, being discharged in lumps as large as pullets' eggs, without being even dissolved. This patient did not recover.

Calomel is well known to be practically insoluble in pure water at the common temperature. It is decomposed to a certain extent by the action of light, or by a moderate heat in the presence of water, and especially by the aid of acids of various kinds, and by certain salts such as alkaline and other soluble chlorides—especially potassium, sodium, and ammonium chlorides.

In all these cases of partial decomposition some of the mercurous chloride—the calomel—is changed into soluble mercuric chloride and metallic mercury. This decomposition is supposed to result from the action of the alkaline chlorides and the chloro-hydric and other acids of the gastric juice when calomel is taken into the stomach under ordinary circumstances. It is believed

that the activity of the calomel depends mainly on the amount of this decomposition which takes place in the body.

Especially does this partial decomposition of calomel into corrosive sublimate occur, to a great extent, when it is mixed in water with sal-ammoniac (ammonium chloride), as has been experienced in cases of poisoning by the administration of even moderate doses of calomel which had been mixed with this salt. In an experiment by the present writer in which three tenths of a gram of calomel and one and two tenths of a gram of sal-ammoniac with ten grams of water were allowed to react at the common temperature for twenty-four hours, as much as 0.019 of a gram of corrosive sublimate was found.

No doubt these facts throw much light on the very irregular action of calomel in different persons and under various conditions, in doses which may be very small or very large. We can easily understand how, when the stomach secretes no gastric juice and when the salts of the blood have been greatly reduced in quantity by watery purging as in cholera, the calomel may pass through the alimentary canal unchanged, insoluble and inactive, or exert a doubtful topical action only.

The present writer's own experience—when he was a medical student, and when fully impressed by the sin-

cere and logical teachings of Doctor Cooke, who, however halting and hesitating may have been his manner or unadorned his style of lecturing, always commanded the fixed attention and highest respect of his pupils—soon opened his eyes to the faults in the theory of the professor.

On one occasion, having been brought into a somewhat febrile condition by fatigue in a botanical excursion in hot weather, and having full faith in the statements of Doctor Cooke to the effect that calomel was of all antifebrile remedies the best, and that while a small dose of calomel might prove irritating *a good large dose* “would sometimes act like an opiate,” he took a one drachm dose in full confidence. But instead of the soothing, curative effect he had been led to expect, vomiting and severe irritation of the stomach resulted, so much so that no food but boiled milk could be tolerated for a week or so afterward. Shaken in his faith by his first experience, but not yet convinced of the error of the doctrine of his respected preceptor, the second trial of a drachm dose on a similar occasion completely satisfied him that something wrong had crept into the theory and practice of the honored professor.

Doctor Cooke’s only fear in his heroic use of calomel was that it would salivate. But for this untoward

influence, he said, one might do almost anything with it. That this substance which, in cases of cholera, he administered so largely with no signs of irritation or salivation, until the patient was in a convalescent state, should sometimes in much smaller doses prove an irritant poison, he did not understand. A quotation from Doctor Yandell's *Memoir*, Page 7, illustrates this: "In some cases of fever Doctor Cooke administered a drachm of calomel at a dose, and repeated it until the patient had taken in twenty-four hours as much as two hundred and forty grains. A young lady was thus treated in 1826. After this quantity had been given she seemed much relieved, but to avert the danger of salivation he thought it prudent to administer jalap and cream of tartar. At night they were thrown up, without producing any purgative effect. She then took a drachm of calomel, and repeated it until she had taken five doses in the course of the night and morning, with the same fine effect in producing abundant bilious discharges, and a remarkably good effect on the symptoms generally." Still uneasy about ptyalism, he gave her cream of tartar all day, but at night it was thrown up as before, without moving the bowels. "My fears of the consequence of giving the only medicine which offered any prospect of saving her," he adds, "held my hand, and she continued to vomit till

death relieved her. I reproached myself on her account afterward, and felt conscious that fear of a remote and uncertain evil had induced me to stand and see her die without doing all I might have done. I was convinced she would not have died had the calomel been continued."

After she had thus taken more than an ounce of calomel he honestly believed that he had not given her enough of this medicine! Entirely ignoring the action of the cream of tartar in bringing this substance partly into the condition of a soluble irritant poison!

To convince myself of this decomposing action of cream of tartar on calomel, I placed about a drachm of calomel in each of two small beaker glasses. In the one I put pure distilled water, in the other I added to the water about a drachm of cream of tartar. Heating them to about blood heat and allowing them to stand for a few hours, I filtered both liquids from the undissolved calomel. Ammonium sulphide, added to the filtered fluids, threw down from that which contained the cream of tartar a sensible amount of dark mercurial sulphide, while that which contained pure water gave no notable reaction. Evidently the cream of tartar had caused the decomposition of some of the insoluble calomel and had produced a soluble mercurial compound. All soluble compounds of mercury are active poisons in small doses,

while, as was fully proven by Doctor Cooke's extraordinary practice with this substance, pure unchanged calomel is one of the most insoluble substances. Consequently it sometimes proved harmless in very large doses, as was the case when the copious watery discharges of cholera had removed most of the salts of the blood.

The Doctor took no note of possible agencies which might make his master remedy occasionally poisonous, and scouted the careful practice of some of the older physicians in causing their patients to abstain from the use of common salt while taking calomel, a recommendation based upon valid experience, no doubt, which science has verified.

The Doctor rose to two ounces, or tablespoonful doses, during the prevalence of Asiatic cholera in Lexington, but he did not confine this treatment to that fearful disease. The present writer has preserved one of the last of his mammoth doses—one of a dozen of the same weight (about an ounce)—which he prescribed for a medical student of the session of 1836-37, the subject of pneumonia, and who took eleven such doses in regular succession before he died.

In Doctor Cooke's earlier practice, and in the treatment of less severe cases, he relied greatly on his famous pills—well known in the region of Lexington as "Cooke's

Pills''—composed of equal parts of calomel, aloes, and rhubarb; or on tincture of aloes and the lancet, with the occasional use of a few other remedies. These constituted his sole armament with which to encounter disease. For he was a man of the strictest and most earnest honesty, sincerity, and zeal, and withal so wedded to his logical convictions that he would at any time have died a martyr to his well-matured beliefs. Indeed, according to the testimony of his friend, the late Lunsford P. Yandell, he seems thus to have been to some extent a martyr to his own theory and practice.

On Page 22 of Doctor Yandell's *Memoir of Doctor Cooke*, we are informed that "his practice on himself was of the same heroic character that he pursued with his patients. He bled himself at once copiously and repeated the operation again and again as symptoms appeared to him to demand it, at the same time keeping up purgation with calomel. Exposed as he was on his farm, these attacks became frequent and his constitution, naturally enfeebled by increasing years, at length gave way under them."

Again, on Page 27 of the same *Memoir*, Doctor Yandell says: "The perfect sincerity with which he held his opinions was evinced by his carrying out his practice in his own case. On one occasion this was near costing

him his life. He was seized with intermittent fever, on his farm near Louisville in the fall of 1844, and for several days took his pills—composed of calomel, rhubarb, and aloes—in the confident belief that they would arrest the disease; but the chills continued to recur with an increasing tendency to congestion until at last his case became alarming. His old friend, General Mercer, of Virginia, who happened to be on a visit to him at the time, called on me and gave me an account of his situation, asking me to visit him. Doctor Cooke was reluctant to take quinine, but finally consented and was relieved, and afterward, I believe, used the remedy in his practice.”

A characteristic anecdote is recorded of him in *Collins' History of Kentucky*. “One Sunday morning, waiting on some of his family to get ready for church—the Methodist church, of which he and they were members—he picked up a discourse by the Reverend Doctor Chapman, then Episcopal clergyman of Lexington. The argument for the Old Church of England attracted his attention. He perused and studied it fully, sent for all the available authorities on the subject; studied them with such effect that at once he changed his communion to the Episcopal Church and was ever after a rigid and zealous pillar to that church, and an industrious student of the writings of the theological fathers.”

His logic, on which he based his medical theory and practice, is most elaborately set forth in his only large work, already mentioned—*A Treatise of Pathology and Therapeutics*—and was tersely summed up by a most zealous believer and pupil of his¹ as follows: “If all diseases result from congestion of the *vena cava*, and if calomel is the best and most reliable remedy, what is the use of applying to any other means?”

Because of its simplicity and its apparently logical basis, the system of Doctor Cooke was very attractive to students of medicine. If true—and they could not doubt it—it was a great new discovery of a royal road to medical practice which avoided all the drudgery over pathology, chemistry, the *materia medica* and therapeutics of the old school. All ordinary diseases were a unit produced by a common cause, and calomel was the principal panacea!

But alas! the logical system of Doctor Cooke, like many other beautiful and well-laid superstructures, failed in this essential thing—*the foundation on which it was raised was not true*.

Logical minds too often willingly lay down or accept assumptions, or uncertain facts, as axioms, and are satis-

¹The late William Hall, M. D., for a long time editor of *Hall's Journal of Health*, of New York.

fied if the deductions from these are logically accurate and perfect. Doctor Cooke, in a slow and laborious way, took infinite pains to build up his logical superstructure. The writer recollects his illustration of logical connections, by means of certain pieces of wood united by strings; and, notwithstanding his unadorned style and slow and hesitating manner, his students—carried away by his well-known truthfulness, sincerity, and earnest zeal, and incapable of judging for themselves of the validity of his premises—accepted his doctrine as a new revelation and were almost unanimously his ardent followers until experience or more ample knowledge opened their eyes to its faults.

Before he removed from Transylvania School to the new one in Louisville in 1837, severe criticisms of his teachings had been published. Indeed it had begun to be believed by some that these teachings were marring the prosperity of that old college. Soon after his removal to Louisville, we are told by Doctor Yandell, "the current which from the first had set in against his theory and practice grew every year more formidable" until "assailed on all sides, and from within as well as from without, his theory steadily lost ground, his practice grew more unpopular and his influence as a teacher visibly declined from the day he began to lecture in Louisville."¹ So

¹ Memoir, Page 21.

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that in 1843 he was, on petition of the students, retired on a three years' pension of two thousand dollars per annum.

Besides the two volumes of his *Pathology and Therapeutics* he published a small work on *Autumnal Diseases*, and a number of medical papers in *The Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, of which he was one of the original editors. The congestive theory of disease had its short day, like many others which have floated like bubbles on the stream of medical progress. We remember it as one of the curiosities of medical literature.¹

DOCTOR CHARLES WILKINS SHORT

Was born in Woodford County, Kentucky, at "Greenfields," October 6, 1794. He connected himself with the Medical Department of Transylvania University in 1825. He had been called by the Trustees in a previous year to the chair of *Materia Medica* and Medical Botany, but did not at once accept.

Doctor Short was a most upright, conscientious, modest, undemonstrative gentleman of great delicacy of

¹ Doctor L. P. Vandell, senior, says of Doctor Cooke in his biography: "Dr. Cooke was one of the few men who might have been safely trusted to write his autobiography. He would have reviewed his career with a truthfulness, a modesty, a candor that would have exalted his character in the eyes of men. His works will be read by the curious for a long time to come, and will always be read with advantage by the earnest student."

feeling. He was a most zealous and industrious botanist, and was possessed of artistic tastes and ability.

One of his greatest pleasures was in his extensive herbarium, rich with the native plants of Kentucky collected by himself, as well as with those from other regions obtained by the exchange of specimens with the various botanists of the world, with whom he corresponded individually and extensively. He, in conjunction with Professors H. H. Eaton, H. A. Griswold, and R. Peter, contributed to the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine* several papers on the plants of Kentucky,¹ and wrote for that periodical several papers on this subject and on medical topics, as well as numerous obituary notices of medical men. He was not the author of any large treatise.

In addition to his notices and catalogues of Kentucky plants he published in the *Transylvania Medical Journal*:

“Instructions for Gathering and Preservation of Plants in Herbaria.”

“Botanical Bibliography.” 1835.

“A Brief Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Cholera Asphyxia.” 1835.

“A Sketch of the Progress of Botany in Western America.”

¹*Notices of Western Botany and Conchology*, by Doctor C. W. Short and H. H. Eaton, A. M., published in *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, 1831.

In 1845, he wrote "Observations of the Botany of Illinois," published in the *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*.

In the early volumes of the *Transylvania Journal* also appeared his notices of two remarkable cases which occurred in Lexington. One, of supposed *spontaneous combustion of the human body*, and the other of *paralysis of the kidneys*.

At his death his vast collection of botanical specimens, in the formation of which he took such delight, and to which he had devoted so great a portion of his life, was bequeathed to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, but there was no appropriate place there in which to display so large a collection. It is now in possession of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia. During his life no less than five of the distinguished botanists of the age honored his name by attaching it to six new genera and species of plants.

His lectures to the medical students on *Materia Medica* and *Medical Botany* he always read from his manuscript, which detracted somewhat from his impressiveness. He was too modest to trust himself to oral discourses.¹ Yet

¹Professor Henry Miller, of Louisville, says of Doctor Short: "As a lecturer Dr. Short's style was chaste, concise, and classical, and his manner always grave and dignified. His lectures were always carefully and fully written and read in the lecture room with a good voice and correct emphasis. He never made the least attempt at display nor set a clap-trap in all his life."



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DOCTOR CHARLES WILKINS SHORT.

his pupils were always closely attentive and respectful, holding him and his teachings in high esteem.¹

He was Dean of the Medical Faculty in Transylvania for about ten years.

For some years he was co-editor of the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine* with Doctor Cooke. This quarterly they founded in Lexington in 1828.

Doctor Short severed his connection with the Transylvania Medical School in 1838 to be allied with Doctors Caldwell, Cooke, and Yandell in the Medical Institute of Louisville,² in which he remained until 1849, when his colleagues elected him Emeritus Professor of Materia Medica and Botany. He died at his beautiful country residence, "Hayfield," near Louisville, on March 7, 1863, aged sixty-nine years.

Doctor Short's father was Peyton Short, who came to Kentucky from Surry County, Virginia, and whose

¹ Doctor Gross says: "In stature Dr. Short was of medium height, well proportioned, with light hair and complexion, blue eyes, and an ample forehead. His features when lighted up by a smile were radiant with goodness and beneficence. In manner he was graceful, calm, and dignified; so much so that one coming into his presence for the first time might have supposed him to be haughty and ascetic; such, however, was not the case."

² Doctor David W. Yandell thus writes of Doctor Short as connected with the Medical Institute of Louisville: "Dr. Short was a most valuable officer. His high scientific attainment, the soundness of his judgment, high dignity and urbanity of manner, his amiable temper and blameless life added character and weight to the institution. Botany was his favorite pursuit. He found the flora of this region (Louisville) virgin and unknown, and so collected, arranged, and classified it that his successors in this field have been able to change nothing and to add but little to his work."

mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Skipwith, Baronet. His mother was Mary, daughter of John Cleves Symmes, formerly of Long Island, who filled various offices of honor and trust in Cincinnati. His sister was the wife of Doctor Benjamin Winslow Dudley. His brother was the late Judge John Cleves Short, of North Bend, Ohio. He married Mary Henry Churchill, only daughter of Armistead and Jane Henry Churchill. Of his six children—one son and five daughters—all were prosperous in life.

The early education of Doctor Short was in the school of the celebrated Joshua Fry, and, in 1810, he graduated with honor in the Academical Department of Transylvania University, beginning soon afterward the study of medicine with his uncle, Professor Frederick Ridgely. He repaired to Philadelphia in 1813 and became a private pupil of Doctor Casper Wistar, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, in which university Doctor Short received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the spring of 1815, returning shortly after to Kentucky. Doctor Short was a consistent member of the Presbyterian church.¹

¹We see in the records of the Trustees of Transylvania University that on March 17, 1832, Doctor Short was elected President *pro tem.* of Transylvania University "during the pleasure of the Board," but there is no mention of his acceptance. The fact is, Professors Short, Caldwell, and Dudley acted alternately

PROFESSOR LUNSFORD PITTS YANDELL, SENIOR, M. D.

Was called to the chair of Chemistry and Pharmacy in the Medical Department of Transylvania University, March 16, 1831.¹ He had attended the course of lectures in that school in 1822-23, having previously acquired a good general and classical education in the Bradley Academy, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and having studied medicine some time with his father, Doctor Wilson Yandell, a physician of high standing.

While attending the lectures in the Transylvania Medical College he became favorably known as a young man of industry, good attainments, and ability, and of popular manners. Especially was he a favorite pupil of Professor Charles Caldwell, who became his ardent friend, and through whose active influence, mainly, he was called in 1831—after he had received the degree of M. D. from the University of Maryland—to occupy the Chemical chair in the Transylvania School.

Although he had been a good and apt scholar in his preliminary education, he had never devoted especial

as President *pro tem.* on public occasions and in signing diplomas, etc., until a President could be elected. The Reverend B. O. Peers was inaugurated President *pro tem.*, 1833, and the Reverend Thomas W. Coit, an eminent Episcopalian divine from New England, was installed as President in 1835.

¹The resignation of his predecessor, Doctor Blythe, took place March 16, 1831. (See Records of Transylvania University.)

attention to chemistry, which at that time, notwithstanding the neglect or opposition of the older medical teachers—notably the ridicule of Professor Caldwell and others—was beginning to be recognized as an essential element of a good medical education.

This want of special training and experience in this branch of science on his part naturally caused opposition to his appointment to this chair, which was allayed by making the late Hezekiah Hulbert Eaton, A. M., professor adjunct to the Chemical chair, and giving him one third of the tuition fees.

Professor Eaton was a young man of fine attainments and thorough practical training in chemistry and natural science generally; a graduate of Rensselaer Institute of Troy, New York, under the administration of his father, the celebrated Amos Eaton.¹

Adjunct Professor Eaton died of consumption at the age of twenty-three, before the end of the first year; but during the short term of his service he had, by his industry and practical knowledge, greatly improved the means of instruction in the Chemical Department by a complete reorganization of the laboratory and the procurement of much new apparatus, etc.²

¹ One of his ancestors was General William Eaton, the hero of Derne.

² In the chemical course of lectures the subject of Electricity was given up to him entirely. He lectured on it as well as performed the experiments.



DOCTOR LUNSFORD P. YANDELL, SENIOR.

After the death of Professor Eaton, August 16, 1832, the present writer, then residing in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who had also been a student in the Rensselaer Institute and consequently known to Professor Eaton, was persuaded by the late Reverend Benjamin Orr Peers to visit Lexington, Kentucky, to deliver a course of chemical lectures in the Eclectic Institute, of which Mr. Peers was principal and of which young Professor Eaton had been a professor. During this course, in 1832, the writer was induced by Professor Yandell, by private arrangement, to assist him in his next course of lectures to the medical students of Transylvania and to commence the regular study of medicine with a view to graduation.

Under this arrangement, which continued until the disruption of the Medical Faculty in 1837, Doctor Yandell, in his usual able and brilliant manner, delivered the chemical lectures to the students, while to the writer was committed the preparation and performance of the demonstrative experimental part.

On his removal to Louisville in 1837, to join in the establishment of the rival school, the Louisville Medical Institute, Doctor Yandell taught in the combined chairs of Chemistry and Materia Medica, never failing ably and impressively to perform this arduous duty. Not

having any particular taste for so severe a study as practical chemistry, although no one was more impressed with the philosophical beauty and wide practical value of the science, he naturally sought a transfer to a chair more congenial with his tastes and the character of his mind than that of chemistry. This, circumstances prevented until, in 1849, the Trustees of the school—having come to the conclusion that Professor Caldwell had become superannuated—placed Doctor Yandell in the chair of Physiology, for which subject he had a decided taste. This change procured him the animosity of his whilom friend, Doctor Caldwell, who, in his rather unfortunate *Autobiography* written in his last declining years, indulged in much bitter denunciation of his late colleague. It is much to the credit of Doctor Yandell that, although when this angry publication was fresh from the press he retaliated by showing in ample quotations from the *Autobiography* some of the weak points in Doctor Caldwell's character, he was disposed in following years, as the writer knows, to extend over these weaknesses the mantle of kindness.

Doctor Yandell occupied this chair of Physiology with great credit until he resigned, in 1859, to accept a chair in the Medical School of Memphis, Tennessee. During the Civil War he devoted himself to hospital

service. In 1862, he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Memphis, and in 1864 was ordained pastor of the Dancyville Presbyterian church. He resigned his pastorship in 1867, and returned to Louisville to resume the practice of medicine, which he had never entirely abandoned during the whole of his professional life.

While resident in Lexington he was for some years sole editor of the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, to which he contributed several able papers. In Louisville he was editor for some time of the *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, in both cases filling the editorial chair with characteristic activity and ability. He was always a contributor to the medical literature of his day in numerous papers, especially in biographical sketches and obituary memoirs of medical men of Kentucky and Tennessee, a more complete collection of which he was said to be preparing at the time of his last illness. He held a facile pen; few writers of our times have produced more classical and graceful essays. As a public speaker and lecturer he was ever impressive, graceful, and chaste. His social qualities made him always welcome and prominent in all public assemblies of his medical brethren. In 1872, he was elected President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Louisville, and at the time of his death he was President of the Medical

Society of Kentucky. His decease occurred February 4, 1878, in the seventy-third year of his age.

DOCTOR ROBERT PETER,

Though of foreign birth, came of that same class of British ancestry which has given the United States her representative Americans, Virginia her great men, our own State her typical Kentuckians. Born at Launceston, Cornwall, January 21, 1805, he was a member of the Peter family of Devon and Essex, which produced in former times the remarkable Sir William Peter or Petre, to which has been ascribed the noted Hugh Peter or Peters, and from which collaterally are descended the present Lords Bathurst and Petre. Robert Peter came to America with his parents, Robert and Johanna Dawe Peter, and their six other children, when twelve years old, landing at Baltimore and later settling at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. The father, it seems, succeeded in none of his money-making enterprises in the new country, and Robert had early to support himself and to contribute something to the maintenance of the family. He was placed in Charles Avery's wholesale drug store at Pittsburg and there received a first-rate business education, while diligently cultivating his decided taste for chemistry. In 1828, he became a naturalized citizen of

the United States. The same year, after attending one session (by especial request) at the Rensselaer Institute Scientific School at Troy, New York, he acquired the title of "Lecturer on the Natural Sciences,"¹ and delivered a course of chemical lectures to a small class in Pittsburg, was a member of the Hesperian Society and contributed to its organ, *The Hesperus*, numerous papers, scientific, literary, and poetical. In 1829, as member of the Pittsburg Philosophical Society, he gave a course of lectures on the Natural Sciences before that Society. In 1830-31, he lectured on Chemistry in the Western University of Pennsylvania. In 1832, he came to Lexington, Kentucky, somewhat reluctantly, at the urgent insistence of Reverend Benjamin O. Peers, to be associated with him in the proprietorship of his "Eclectic Institute," at that place, and to deliver a course of lectures in the Institute.²

While thus engaged, Professor Peter was induced by Doctor Yandell, Professor of Chemistry, to accept the duties of adjunct to the chair of Chemistry, a position made vacant by the death of Professor H. H. Eaton, August 16, 1832.

¹In the catalogue of the Rensselaer School, 1828, appears in the list of undergraduates, "Robert Peter, Pittsburg, Pa., Lecturer on the Experimental and Demonstrative Sciences, Druggist."

²This "Eclectic Institute" occupied the "colonial" residence on Second Street, now forming a part of the Hagerman Female College. Mr. Peers, H. A. Griswold, and H. H. Eaton were already associated.

On March 16, 1833, he was unanimously elected to the chair of Chemistry in Morrison College, Transylvania University, being installed on the occasion of the dedication of that college, November 4, 1833, when the oath of office was administered to Mr. Peers as Proctor of Morrison College and President *pro tem.* of the University. Professor Peter then studied medicine in Transylvania, receiving his diploma March 18, 1834. He was present during the terrible epidemic of cholera in Lexington in 1833, and with Doctor Yandell attended the first case—that of a Mr. Henry. Though a successful practitioner, Doctor Peter, like Doctor Short, had a distaste for the life of a physician, and soon retired to more congenial scientific labors. On October 6, 1835, he married Frances Paca, eldest daughter of Major William S. Dallam. In 1838,¹ he was elected to the chair of Chemistry and Pharmacy in Transylvania Medical Department, and, until the close of the school in 1857, was honorably connected with it. From 1847 to the end, in 1857, he was chosen Dean of the Faculty, being Librarian as well. In 1839, with Doctor James M. Bush, Doctor Peter spent most of the summer in London and Paris purchas-

¹ Doctor Mitchell says (1838): "Dr. Peter added to the Chemical Department several powerful galvanic batteries and a fine collection of apparatus recently procured from the East, making the laboratory more complete than it ever has been before." (Historical Catalogue, 1838.)

ing books, apparatus, and other means of instruction for the Medical Department.¹ After hearing numerous lectures by famous doctors, and after visiting the model hospitals, etc., of the day, he writes to his wife (Paris, June 27, 1839): "We can have as great men [in Lexington] as either of those cities [London and Paris], and neither of them contains a man as eminent in surgery as Doctor Dudley"; and from London, August 11, 1839: "We have bought a great many fine books and a great deal of excellent apparatus and anatomical and other models. Transylvania will shine. No other institution in our part of the world will be able to compare with her in the means of instruction. In fact, I have seen none in Europe that is more completely prepared to teach *modern* medicine."²

Daguerre, in 1839, had just published the process of his wonderful art, and it constituted perhaps the greatest novelty in Paris at the time of the sojourn there of

¹Of the books, apparatus, etc., purchased in Europe by Doctor Peter we find the following account rendered on March 25, 1839: "Books and plates, six thousand dollars; chemical apparatus, two thousand five hundred dollars; preparations for anatomy and surgery, one thousand five hundred dollars; models for obstetrics, five hundred dollars; specimens for materia medica and therapeutics and drawing, five hundred dollars. A total of eleven thousand dollars."

²"A very large addition was made to library, museum, and apparatus by extensive purchases in Europe (selected by Dr. Bush and myself), bringing the former collection up to 8,000 volumes and making the latter equal, if not superior, to any in the United States." (Introductory lecture of Doctor Peter to Medical Department, 1854.)

Doctor Bush and Doctor Peter; so along with the apparatus for Transylvania was brought to Lexington a daguerreotype outfit which surely must have been the first ever seen in that city, if not the first ever used in the West. This primitive camera and its accompaniments, which Doctor Peter showed to his classes many years after, can still be found, it is supposed, among the old Transylvania possessions preserved at the Kentucky University.

On his return from Europe Doctor Peter engaged in much valuable chemical research for the benefit of medical science, notably his examinations of calculi, published in 1846.¹ He also, in 1846, experimented with the then newly discovered explosive, gun-cotton, and with pyroxyline made from paper and other materials. His chemical research and teachings all were now and invariably along practical lines. Leaving theory to others, his own endeavors were in anticipation of useful results in practice. Quick to adopt new views when properly sustained by facts, he was highly appreciative of improved methods, a trait strikingly displayed when, in his old age, the most radical changes revolutionized the methods of chemical work. Laying aside the long-familiar doctrines, practiced since his far-distant youth, he took up

¹See *Western Lancet*, Volume V, 1846.

the new with an ease—even alacrity—hardly excelled by contemporary chemists of a younger generation. In his early days he experimented much with electricity—then little understood. He gave much attention to geology, mineralogy, zoology, and botany. Associated with Doctor Charles W. Short and Professor Henry A. Griswold, he made important botanical explorations.¹ His fine herbarium, including specimens exchanged for with leading European botanists, he gave in after years to the Kentucky State Agricultural and Mechanical College. Doctor Lewis Rogers, in his address as President to the Kentucky State Medical Society, 1878, says: “In the interesting departments of Botany and Chemistry, Doctor Charles Wilkins Short and Doctor Peter are known throughout the scientific world. As teachers, the modest, almost shrinking manner, the seemingly acerb dignity, and Addisonian style of the one and the lucid expositions and brilliant illustrations of the other, must be remembered by all who ever listened to them.” In 1850–53, Doctor Peter filled with distinction the chair of Chemistry in the newly founded Kentucky School of Medicine at Louisville, since so successful. On October 19, 1853, at the third meeting of the Kentucky Medical Society at Lexington, he proposed to memorialize

¹See *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, Volumes VI and VII.

the legislature in regard to the establishment of a Geological Survey of Kentucky. Accordingly, he prepared such a memorial (in connection with his "Report on the Relation of Forms of Disease to the Geological Formation of a Region"), accompanied by a geological map, colored by himself.¹ In consequence of this memorial, which was unanimously sanctioned by the several agricultural societies of the State, the first Geological Survey of Kentucky—which was also the first large State enterprise of the kind undertaken in the West—was begun in 1854, under the able and experienced direction of Doctor David Dale Owen. While chemist to this survey, Doctor Peter demonstrated what previously he had sturdily maintained and ably argued—that by soil analysis could be determined the elements necessary to increase and preserve the fertility of soils.² He was probably the first in America to apply quantitative and qualitative analysis in this manner—certainly the first to apply it to any great extent. He proved by numerous analyses that chemical analysis as practiced by him was capable of showing the deterioration of soils by long cultivation. He did this by comparing the composition of the virgin

¹The memorial was written entirely by Doctor Peter, the map was mostly copied from one published about that time by a Mr. Byrem Lawrence, who traveled and lectured on Geology in Kentucky and who subsequently went to Arkansas and made observations on its Geology, etc., and, as the writer believes, died there.

²See *Kentucky Geological Survey*, Volume 1, N. S., Page 143.

soil with that of soil taken from a near-by old field.¹ The amount of chemical work accomplished by Doctor Peter in the Kentucky Survey seems wellnigh impossible when it is considered that at the same time he lectured daily six times a week in two colleges—never omitting to prepare experiments in illustration of his subject. Some Eastern chemists were actually disposed to dispute the facts. One of these asserted that “no chemist could make more than one soil analysis in less than a month.” Doctor Owen says in this regard: “Without a knowledge of the peculiar circumstances under which the work was performed, the amount of Doctor Peter’s chemical labor during the last six years, as chemical assistant to the Survey of Kentucky, might appear incredible, for he has, in fact, performed a greater number of *reliable, detailed, practically useful* analyses of soils than any living chemist”²—which comes with authority, for

¹See Volume 1, N. S., Page 143.

²Doctor Owen says: “The principal operating room in which Dr. P. made his analyses is 15 feet square, the working and balance tables stand within three feet of each other, and the furnace, sand, and water baths three feet from the former, so that one or two steps suffice to reach all important parts of the different operations in their various stages of progression. The reagents constantly in use. . . in a case resting on the working table within arm’s reach of the operator, and his recording desk in a drawer of the same table.” This laboratory was in the north-west corner of the Medical Hall, corner of Broadway and Second Street. Doctor Owen, zealous to defend Doctor Peter, explains further that the latter was aided by a more than common physical as well as mental aptitude. Doctor Peter took no part in this defense save to extend to the skeptics an invitation to visit his laboratory and examine his manner of working.

Doctor Owen, a man not given to exaggeration, was in position to view the whole field, and as Director fully and faithfully informed himself as to what was going on all over the world in matters relating to his department. Doctor Owen said no chemists in this country had thought proper to turn their special attention to soil analysis, but that Doctor Peter, with the help of only one assistant to do the more mechanical part of the work, had in six years of the survey made one thousand, one hundred and twenty-six quantitative analyses, three hundred and seventy-five of which were of soils in which, on an average, twelve different substances were determined. In addition to this and the preparation of his own chemical report, Doctor Peter personally supervised the publication of the four royal 8vo volumes of this Survey, reading and correcting all proof and adding an obituary biographical sketch of his friend Doctor Owen, whose death, November 13, 1860, had terminated the survey. Before arrangements could be made to continue this important public work the Civil War intervened, putting a stop to all such beneficent pursuits. Doctor Peter unhesitatingly and warmly upheld his adopted country against secession. Unable to take the field with his friend, Ethelbert Dudley, he promptly fell into the ranks of Dudley's Home Guards, shoulder to shoulder

with Benjamin Gratz, Madison C. Johnson, David A. Sayre, and other such fellow-citizens.¹ He was appointed Acting Assistant Surgeon in charge of Military Hospitals at Lexington, Kentucky, being most of the time senior surgeon in charge, quickly bringing his hospitals to a high state of order and efficiency. It was this gift of reducing to system, combined with untiring energy and diligence, which in his long life tended to make all his work both rapid and successful. Thus he carried on simultaneously numbers of analyses with immense saving of time, while other chemists went through each operation separately—making his results almost beyond belief. When, after the war, the survey was resumed under Professor N. S. Shaler, Doctor Peter prepared three chemical reports of his analytical work, 1873–78. A total of four hundred and seventy-seven pages, containing eight hundred and seventy-one analyses.

In the survey continued under the late John R. Procter, he prepared six reports, five of which were pub-

¹I must acknowledge that the expression "shoulder to shoulder" is a mere figure of speech as regards "Uncle Davy" Sayre, for he usually attended the drills in a buggy in subservience to his gout, being thereby rendered immune from the consequences suffered by his dignified compatriots of sundry knots tied, by youthful humorists, in the long grass of the classic "little college lot," the favorite drill ground of the Home Guard, as it had been of Morgan's Rifles and other military companies. This "college lot" was none other than the original "out lot No. 6," the first seat of Transylvania, and was the identical spot whereon had taught the immortal Holley. Madison C. Johnson was "conspicuous" for his sky-blue blouse of fine material, which stood forth in the ranks of common dark blue cotton, and must have been a mark for the enemy had the celebrated battle for the arms hereinafter mentioned ever taken place.

lished, covering five hundred and eighty-eight pages, describing nine hundred and seventy-seven analyses—a total of one thousand, eight hundred and forty-eight published analyses. The sixth report—the ninth of the new survey—made to Procter, was not published for the lack of funds, and the manuscript seems to have been lost. The analyses, of which there are about four hundred, will be published, however, by the present able director of the newly resumed Geological Survey, Professor C. J. Norwood, in as nearly the original form as can be restored from the records. Thus, with the one assistant, Doctor Peter made for the new survey about two thousand, two hundred and fifty analyses. Besides which, during his active life in Lexington, he had at all times considerable practice as consulting and analytical chemist, making for individuals many analyses not included in the above. As a toxicologist he had a high reputation, and his expert testimony usually carried the day in cases wherein he was called. At the time of the First Kentucky Survey, under Doctor Owen, Doctor Peter had also contributed to the second report of a Geological Reconnaissance of the Southern and Middle Counties of Arkansas, made during the years 1859 and 1860, an octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-three pages, in which he gives the history of two hundred and

seventy-one chemical analyses made by himself of soils, subsoils, under-clays, nitre-earths, etc., of Arkansas, with remarks in one hundred and twenty-five pages of report. At the same time he made chemical analyses of thirty-three soils, subsoils, etc., of the State of Indiana for the survey of that State begun by Doctor D. D. Owen and continued, on Doctor Owen's death, by his brother, Colonel Richard Owen. It will be seen by reference to the Kentucky Geological Reports that Doctor Peter was the first, or among the first, to point out the fact that the lower Silurian limestones always contain a notable quantity of phosphates, and that this circumstance in part accounts for the richness of our bluegrass soils¹—facts which he brought to the attention of the agricultural public as early as April, 1849, in the *Albany Cultivator*, of New York.

He was apparently the first to show that some of the upper layers of the Trenton limestone are remarkably rich in phosphates, as shown by his analyses published in the reports cited.

In 1865, when in accordance with Honorable John B. Bowman's lofty educational plans Kentucky University was removed to Lexington, was united with

¹See *Kentucky Geological Survey*, Volume IV, N. S., Pages 18, 65, and 66; also Volume III, N. S., Page 391.

Transylvania, and included the State Agricultural and Mechanical College, Doctor Peter occupied the chair of Chemistry and Experimental Philosophy in the new University, lecturing daily in two colleges, having declined the Presidency of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, which was offered him by Regent Bowman. At this period he devoted his every energy of mind and body to assist in the upbuilding of what he fondly hoped would be the great educational institution of the West and South; for the training especially of Kentucky's youth of every rank and creed, and for the benefit of all men of all nations who sought knowledge.¹ He accepted and accomplished, it was said at the time, the work of three average men. On the separation of the State College from the Kentucky University, after a bitter sectarian controversy in which he manfully defended the Transylvania trusts—little understood by some of the controversialists—he remained with the State College at the head of the Chemical Department.²

¹Mr. Bowman says, in a letter to Doctor Peter, April 20, 1876: "If my life is spared I will work on until by national and State aid, if not denominational, I will lay broad and deep the *foundations* of a great, free, liberal, unsectarian university for all classes and professions of this people and abreast with the advanced curriculum of the best institutions of our century."

²In the heat of contest Doctor Peter's adversaries did not hesitate to call him an infidel and an atheist. It was the worst they could say, but not strictly in conformity with the facts. He was not a church member. He had been baptized in the Church of England, always kept a pew in the Episcopal Church, and as a

In 1887, Doctor Peter was made Emeritus Professor of Chemistry in the State College. It would be of interest to give a detailed account of Doctor Peter's writings, but this must of necessity be reserved for a more extended biography. He was an easy, practical, and prolific writer on a large range of subjects. Deeply interested in agriculture and horticulture, he prepared many able treatises for journals of these branches. He experimented for himself in the culture of fruits and flowers—notably in grape-culture and wine-making. In 1867-68, he assisted in editing the *Farmer's Home Journal*, a weekly published at Lexington, Kentucky, and until its discontinuance—well in the seventies—he contributed many articles. He was sole editor of the tenth volume of the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, and in the preceding and following volumes published a number of contributions on medical and scientific themes. He took an active part with his pen in the controversy which arose on the attempted removal to Louisville of the Transylvania Medical School by some of the Transylvania professors and the establishment at Louisville of the

young man taught in the Episcopal Sunday-school. The spectacle, in so many instances, of the impediment to educational progress by narrowness and bigotry in churches had given him an indifference—not disguised—to *sectarian* religion. He never molested the religious tenets of others. He constantly declared that education should be free to *all* men, irrespective of creed.

"Medical Institute" as a rival school.¹ Like Doctor B. W. Dudley, Doctor Peter, under a misapprehension of the facts, was at first inclined to sanction the removal of the medical school to Louisville, for he says in a "Narrative" of the controversy published in the *Lexington Intelligencer*, July 7, 1837: "I was in favor of the removal of the Transylvania Medical School when I believed it was to be done with the consent of its legal guardians, and with the certainty of very liberal endowments, which would increase its means of instruction; but when the bubble burst—when it was found that the name of Transylvania, the oath of office—*principle*, in fact, were all to be sacrificed to the splendid scheme—I drew back." And from listening to Doctor Caldwell's flattering offers of emoluments in Louisville—even to the promise that Doctor Peter should have the superintendence of the erection of the chemical laboratory—he joined Dudley in maintaining the Transylvania School at Lexington, vigorously defending Dudley, and himself also, against the attacks of the Caldwell faction. In the

¹Antagonists in this controversy, powerless to assail him as a scientist and teacher, characterized him as a person of low origin and brutal manners. He ignored this attack, it being his custom never to lean upon ancestors—to look forward rather than back, holding to the homely but truly American saying that "every tub must stand on its own bottom." But in truth he was of excellent English family and a descendant of that powerful "Arundel" who in the days of the Conquest was master of twenty-eight lordships. His manners passed muster among old-fashioned Kentucky gentlemen.

midst of the general hostility, Doctor Peter became antagonistic to his former friend, Doctor Yandell—indeed, bitter was the strife on all hands. But in after years, when the better part of half a century had rolled between, Doctor Peter, on the friendly advance of Doctor Yandell, forgot the vindictive feeling of the past and a correspondence both pleasant and profitable sprung up between the two old men, which was maintained until the death of Doctor Yandell. Doctor Yandell confessed that in the heat of contention he had said much which afterward he fain would recall. And it is readily to be credited that others felt the same when time was given for calm and dispassionate reflection.

Doctor Peter at all times wrote much on education, much on politics and the questions of the day. Beside lectures to his classes, he gave by request many public lectures on various topics. Possessing no especial gift of voice or enunciation, he was not an orator, though as a lecturer uniformly popular; never dry, though full of information; sometimes humorous, but ever dignified. He never neglected, where appropriate, to illustrate his subject with experiments, frequently new and always skillfully performed. His rapidity and sureness of manipulation were nearly that of the prestidigitator, and were the boast and admiration of his pupils. But with this

complete mastery of science there was no corresponding lack of business ability. More than once he was offered civic honors—vainly, however. Once he agreed to act as City Councilman, but summarily resigned because the Council unjustly denied to respectable colored citizens the right to establish a public school for negroes in Lexington—a refusal we can not understand to-day. He was ever ready to give time, labor, and money to public education and improvement; ready instantly to take up his pen on all questions affecting the welfare of the community in which he lived, regardless of applause, yet valuing the approval of the wise and good. His modesty was inherent. He utterly abhorred ostentation. Yet no citizen was better known, or could more surely rely upon the love and respect of his fellows—respect secured by thorough truthfulness and honesty of purpose—the “courage of his convictions” which never left him. He retained his activity of mind and body, his youthful appearance, his cheerfulness of spirit, up to a very short time before his death, which took place at “Winton,” eight miles from Lexington, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, April 26, 1894. He had, as he had often wished, “worn out rather than rusted out.”

Perhaps the words of his colleague of more than twenty years make the best summary of his life and character:

"Intense devotion to physical science and work of the laboratory, purity of speech and modesty of manner, fidelity to all duties, domestic, professional, and civic, fidelity to settled convictions and principles; above all, his long and illustrious career in educating so many thousands of the young, and in setting before them a model so worthy of their imitation and remembrance; these were the traits, this was the service that crowned his busy life of nearly ninety years with honor, admiration, and renown."

PROFESSOR JAMES CONQUEST CROSS, M. D.

Born in the vicinity of Lexington, Kentucky, was early distinguished for superior natural energy and mental ability. He was a graduate of Transylvania and most ambitious to take place as member of its Faculty. Appointed to the chair of Institutes of Medicine in 1837, having been called from the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati, where he held a professorship, he occupied the position in Lexington until 1843-44, and died a few years thereafter. He was Dean of the Medical Faculty in 1838.

Doctor Cross contributed several papers to the medical journals, but wrote no large work. He was distinguished for readiness and brilliancy rather than for

solidity. His strong ambition and self-confidence, with his considerable abilities and extensive reading, gave promise of a most distinguished career, which unhappily a certain want of mental ballast measurably prevented.¹

DOCTOR JOHN EBERLE²

Was a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and was a little over fifty years of age at the time of his decease. Born and educated among the Germans of Lancaster, he retained the peculiar accent and idiom of that people to the day of his death, as also their habits of industry and perseverance in favorite pursuits. At an early period of his history, Doctor Eberle was deeply involved in politics and for some time conducted a German political paper. Prior to his removal to Philadelphia, which occurred about the year 1818, he published several interesting papers in the *New York Medical Repository* and other journals. Shortly after his settlement in Philadelphia, he became the editor of the *American Medical Recorder*, known throughout the country as one of our ablest periodicals. In 1822, his work on *Therapeutics and Materia Medica* first appeared, after having encountered many obstacles that for a time seemed

¹ Doctor Cross was appointed to a chair in the Transylvania Medical Faculty by the influence of Reverend Nathan H. Hall, a trustee, and against the judgment of other members of the Board.

² From the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, Volume XI, 1838.

to preclude its publication. The author assured the writer of this notice that he failed in all his attempts to procure a publisher, who would give him anything for the copyright, until the person who finally became its proprietor offered two hundred and fifty dollars for the work. Being the first book of the author, he accepted the offer in the hope of being more successful in his subsequent undertakings.

In 1824, on the establishment of Jefferson Medical College, Doctor Eberle constituted one of its Faculty, and continued in the school until his removal to Cincinnati in 1831. While in Jefferson he taught the Theory and Practice, Materia Medica, and Obstetrics at different periods, and was also engaged as editor of the *American Medical Review*, a journal devoted especially to the interests of that school. While in the Jefferson Faculty he published the first edition of his work on *Practice*, which, it is well known, has passed through several editions, and unlike its predecessor yielded a handsome compensation to its author.

In 1831, Doctor Eberle was invited (in connection with Doctors Thomas D. Mitchell and George McClellan) by Doctor Drake, to unite in the formation of a new medical school at Cincinnati. In the winter of 1831-32, the deceased gave his first course of lectures in the West

as Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Botany in the Medical College of Ohio, in which school he remained until the fall of 1837, when he became connected with the Medical Department of Transylvania. While in Cincinnati, he prepared his work on the *Diseases of Children*, for which the publishers gave him a fair compensation, and it is understood that he was engaged a year ago in getting ready for the press *A System of Midwifery*. That he was importuned by his publishers in Ohio to prepare such a work is known to the writer of this notice.

In addition to the publications of Doctor Eberle above named, there were others of less magnitude. Among these we name a small work of a botanical character, for young students; and it may be noticed here that botany was a favorite study with the deceased.

Doctor Eberle was not fond of the practice of his profession, or he might have become rich in its pursuit. He was devoted especially to books, and as a journalist he has not perhaps been equaled in the United States of America. In his deportment he was plain, unassuming, unostentatious; and his whole aspect was indicative of one who had long been a companion of the midnight lamp. Few there are in our profession whose labors have given them such extensive celebrity as fell to the lot of Professor Eberle. His *Practice of Physic* is in

almost every medical library in the West, and has been noticed with high commendation by foreign journalists. His death has left a chasm in the profession, and especially in the school of the West, that is greatly lamented.

Doctor Eberle died at Lexington, Kentucky, February 2, 1838, while filling the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

PROFESSOR THOMAS DUCHE MITCHELL, M. D.,

Was appointed from the Medical College of Ohio to the chair of Chemistry and Pharmacy in the Medical Department of Transylvania in 1837. He was transferred to that of Materia Medica and Medical Botany in the following year, Doctor Peter having been called to the chair of Chemistry, etc.

In consequence of the death of Professor John Eberle early in the session of 1837-38, Doctor Mitchell was required to fill both this and his own chair during the session, an arduous duty which he performed faithfully and to the satisfaction of all parties.¹

¹Letter of Doctor Mitchell to Benjamin Gratz, February 7, 1838: ". . . I graduated in 1812. In 1813 was appointed by the Governor of Pa. to the office of Lazaretto Physician of the Port of Phila. which post I held until 1816, when indisposition compelled me to resign. I then had opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Southern fevers, particularly the yellow fever of N. Orleans and the West Indies. For 17 years after I was actively engaged in practice, and may

With equal ability and success he performed a similar double duty to the full satisfaction of his classes in the winter of 1844-45, when, in consequence of the death of Professor William H. Richardson, the chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children became vacant. He was appointed to that chair. He was also Dean of the Faculty in the Transylvania School from 1839 to 1846.

Doctor Mitchell was born in Philadelphia in 1791, in which city for three generations his ancestors resided. He died in the same city May 13, 1865, in his seventy-fourth year, having heroically performed his duties as Professor almost up to the time of his death, although he was a constant sufferer from painful neuralgic disease of the stomach, at times almost unendurable. His early education was in Quaker schools, the best in those times in that city, and in the University of Pennsylvania. After a year spent in a drug store and chemical labora-

refer to Eberle's *Therapeutics* for his opinion of me as a medical man, at a time when I was not personally acquainted with him. The journals of those times contain many medical papers furnished by me, as examination will show. In 1831 my name was before the Trustees of Jefferson Medical College for the chair of Materia Medica vacated by the resignation of Dr. Eberle, and I would have been appointed, as I have since been informed by Gen. Duncan, one of the Trustees, if I had not agreed to join with Dr. Eberle a new faculty at Cincinnati. If any object that a Prof'r of Chemistry can not make a good Prof'r of Theory and Practice, I have only to refer to the case of the celebrated Dr. Rush, who passed directly from Chemistry to Theory and Practice, as the published records of the University of Penna. will show."

tory he became office pupil of the late Doctor Parrish, and, after attendance on three full courses of medical lectures in the Medical Department of the University, he graduated in medicine. His thesis "On Acidification and Combustion" was published in the Memoirs of the Columbian Medical Society. His mind and pen always in active operation, he published papers in Coxe's *Medical Museum*, *New York Medical Repository*, *Duane's Portfolio*, and other periodicals.

Early in 1812, he was appointed Professor of Vegetable and Animal Physiology in Saint John's Lutheran College, and, in the following year, as Lazaretto Physician, which office he held for three years. In 1819, he published a duodecimo volume on Medical Chemistry. From 1822 to 1831, he was actively engaged in medical practice at Frankford, near Philadelphia. In 1826, he founded a Total Abstinence Temperance Society, to the tenets of which he rigidly adhered during the whole of his life, deprecating the use of alcohol, even in the preparation of the tinctures of the apothecary. He was also a strict Presbyterian. In 1826, the honorary degree of A. M. was conferred on him by the Trustees of Princeton College, New Jersey.

In the winter of 1830-31, he was called to the chair of Chemistry in the Miami University, and in the follow-

ing summer to the same chair in the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati, which was soon thereafter amalgamated with the Miami School, where he remained until called to the same chair in the Medical Department of Transylvania University in 1837. He was transferred, as before mentioned, in the following year to the chair of *Materia Medica*, Doctor Peter having been called to that of Chemistry, etc. Here Doctor Mitchell continued until the end of the session of 1848-49.

In the summer of 1847, the Philadelphia College of Medicine held its first session, and Doctor Mitchell filled in it the chair of Theory and Practice, Obstetrics, and Medical Jurisprudence. In March, 1849, resigning his chair in the Transylvania School, he joined himself with the Philadelphia College with a view to a permanent connection.

Declining tempting offers from medical schools in Missouri and Tennessee, he, in 1852, resigned his chair in Philadelphia and accepted that of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Kentucky School of Medicine at Louisville. He performed the duties of that professorship to the satisfaction of all parties until 1854, when he resigned on account of ill health and returned to his native city. Recovering, in a measure, his health, he was chosen, without any movement on his part, to fill

the chair of *Materia Medica* and General Therapeutics in Jefferson Medical School of Philadelphia. This chair he occupied up to the year of his death.

Doctor Mitchell was an able and indefatigable writer and author. Without recurring to his earlier writings, he published in 1832 an octavo volume of five hundred and fifty-three pages, *On Chemical Philosophy*, on the basis of *The Elements of Chemistry*, by Doctor Reid, of Edinburgh. In the same year he produced his *Hints to Students*, and acted as co-editor of the *Western Medical Gazette* with Professors Eberle and Staughton; contributed papers to the *New York Repository*, *Philadelphia Museum*, *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, *Western Medical Recorder*, *Western Lancet*, *American Medical Recorder*, *American Review*, *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, *Transylvania Medical Journal*,¹ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, *Esculapian Register*, etc.

In 1850, he published an octavo volume of seven hundred and fifty pages *On Materia Medica*, also an edition of *Eberle on the Diseases of Children*, to which he added notes and a sequel of some two hundred pages. He also wrote a volume of six hundred pages *On the Fevers of the United States*, which he did not publish.

¹He was sole editor of this journal in the latter years of its existence.

Doctor Mitchell was a clear and impressive lecturer, a most industrious student even in his latter days, a learned, classical, and scientific scholar and a most rigidly upright and conscientious gentleman.¹

JAMES MILLS BUSH, M. D.,

A native of Kentucky,² born in Frankfort May, 1808, graduated as A. B. in Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, and began the study of medicine and surgery in the office of the celebrated Doctor Alban Goldsmith, Louisville, Kentucky. He removed to Lexington in 1830-31, to attend the medical lectures in Transylvania University, and to become a private pupil of its renowned surgeon, Professor Benjamin W. Dudley. To Doctor Dudley he became personally attached by sentiments of affection and esteem, which were warmly returned by his eminent preceptor; so that, when young Bush received the honor of the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1833, Doctor Dud-

¹Doctor Mitchell was an exceedingly rapid speaker. With difficulty could those unused to this peculiarity follow his swift flow of language and ideas. But once accustomed, his pupils liked this better than the more deliberate speech of other professors. He never failed to impress upon students the importance of a not too hasty diagnosis, the *premonitory* symptoms of widely differing diseases being nearly identical; whereas treatment proper for one disease might result fatally if applied to another.

²Doctor Bush's mother was Miss Palmer, sister of the wife of Governor Adair. His grandparents, Philip and Mary Bush, came to America from Germany and settled at Winchester, Virginia, 1750.

ley immediately appointed him his demonstrator and prosector in Anatomy and Surgery, to which branches of medical science and art Doctor Bush was ardently devoted.

This responsible office he filled with eminent ability and success until 1837, when he was officially made Adjunct Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to his distinguished colleague and friend, Doctor Dudley. He occupied this honorable position to the great satisfaction of all concerned until the year 1844, when he became the Professor of Anatomy, Doctor Dudley retaining the chair of Surgery. In the chair of Anatomy he continued until the dissolution of the Transylvania Medical School in 1857.

In the meanwhile this school, in 1850, had been changed from a winter to a summer school; Doctor Bush, with some of his colleagues and some physicians of Louisville, having thought proper to establish the Kentucky School of Medicine¹ in Louisville as a winter school. In this latter college Doctor Bush remained for three ses-

¹The first Faculty of the Kentucky School of Medicine at Louisville: Benjamin W. Dudley, M. D., Emeritus Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; Robert Peter, M. D., Medical Chemistry and Toxicology; Samuel Annan, M. D., Pathology and Practice of Medicine; Joshua B. Flint, M. D., Principles and Practice of Surgery; Ethelbert L. Dudley, M. D., Descriptive Anatomy and Histology; Llewellyn Powell, Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; James M. Bush, M. D., Surgical Anatomy and Operative Surgery; Henry M. Bullitt, Physiology and Materia Medica; Philip Thornbury, M. D., and John Bartlett, M. D., Demonstrators of Anatomy.

sions—giving thus two full courses of lectures per annum—when he and his Lexington colleagues, resigning from the Louisville school, returned to that of Lexington, re-establishing a winter session.¹

Doctor Bush was ever a most conscientious and ardent laborer in his profession, and, during the lifetime of his preceptor, Doctor Dudley, was his constant associate and assistant as well in the medical school as in his medical and surgical practice. On the retirement of that distinguished surgeon and professor, his mantle fell upon Doctor Bush. In the language of his friend, the late Doctor Lewis Rogers, in 1873: "When Doctor Dudley retired from teaching, Doctor Bush was appointed to the vacant chair. When Doctor Dudley retired from the field of his brilliant achievements as a surgeon Doctor Bush had the rare courage to take possession of it. No higher tribute can be paid to him than to say that he has since held possession without a successful rival."

Most ably and successfully did he thus maintain himself as one fit to follow in the footsteps of our great surgeon. His sterling qualities as a man, his most kind and endearing manners as a physician, his great skill

¹That this arrangement met with much opposition among citizens of Lexington will be seen by a perusal of the *Kentucky Statesman* and other Lexington newspapers of the day. A hand-bill was also issued February 1, 1850, calling a "public meeting" in order to discuss more "fairly" the various aspects of the question.



DOCTOR JAMES M. BUSH.

From a Photograph by Mullen.

and experience in anatomy and surgery, which had been as well the pleasure as the devoted labor of his life; his remarkable accuracy of eye, the more acute because of congenital myopia, his delicacy of hand and unswerving nerve in the use of instruments in the most difficult operations, endeared him to his patients and won the respect and admiration of his medical brethren.

Doctor Bush was a lucid and impressive teacher of his peculiar branch of medical art and science, and always attached his pupils strongly to him as an honored preceptor and friend.

During his active lifetime, spent chiefly in acquiring and putting in practice the rare professional skill which distinguished him, he gave but little time to the use of his pen. Hence he left no large book as the record of his experience. His principal writings were published, in 1837, in the tenth volume of the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, and these were written for that journal on the solicitation of the present writer, who edited that volume. They consist of:

1. A short report of a case of epilepsy, produced in a negro girl by blows of the windlass of a well on the parietal bone, which was entirely and speedily cured under the preliminary treatment by Doctor Dudley of mercurial purgatives and low diet, preparatory to the use

of the trephine, which, as is well known, had been used with great success by Doctor Dudley in such cases.

2. Report of a case of insidious inflammation of the pia mater, complicated with pleuritis—with the autopsy.

3. A more extended paper, entitled "Remarks on Mechanical Pressure Applied by Means of the Bandage; Illustrated by a Variety of Cases." In which the mode of application and *modus operandi* are most clearly given, and illustrated by many interesting cases, mostly from the surgical practice of Doctor Dudley.

4. "Dissection of an Idiot's Brain." The subject—a female twenty-five years of age—had been born idiotic, blind, deaf, and dumb; the head was very small, and the brain on dissection was found to weigh only twenty ounces, and to have large serous cavities in the coronal portions of the cerebral hemispheres. The anatomy of the eyes was perfect, but there was no nervous connection between the optic nerve and the *thalami nervorum opticomum*.

5. A short notice of three operations of lithotomy, performed on May 31, 1837, by Doctor Dudley, with his assistance.

6. "Interesting Autopsy." On the body of a negro man who had been the subject of sudden falling fits, and was under treatment for disease of the chest. The

autopsy disclosed hypertrophy of the right side of the heart, and a most remarkable course and lengthening of the colon.

7. "Observations on the Operation of Lithotomy, Illustrated by Cases from the Practice of Professor B. W. Dudley." An extensive and lucid description of the method of operation and the remarkably successful experience of Doctor Dudley in this part of his practice, giving report of one hundred and fifty-two successful cases up to that time.

In addition, the Doctor contributed an occasional bibliographical review or notice. And these seem to be the whole of his published professional writings.

Doctor Bush was married, in 1835, to Miss Charlotte James, of Chillicothe. Of their three children the eldest, Benjamin Dudley, was a young man of remarkable promise as a surgeon and physician when he was cut off, an event which cast a gloom over the remaining days of the life of his father. Few young men of his age had ever attained such proficiency or developed such sterling qualities.¹

The death of Doctor Bush, which took place on February 14, 1875, was followed by general and unusual

¹ Doctor Bush's other children are Captain Thomas J. Bush and Miss Nannie M. Bush, of Lexington, Kentucky.

manifestations of respect and regret, not only on the part of the members of the profession, but by the people of the city at large. Few citizens were more extensively known, loved, and honored in life or followed to the grave by a greater concourse of mourning friends.

NATHAN RYNO SMITH, M. D.,

Was called from his residence in Baltimore, Maryland, to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Transylvania in the year 1838. He resigned the chair and returned to that city in 1840, having delivered three annual courses of lectures here. He was succeeded in this chair by Doctor Elisha Bartlett.

Doctor Smith was born May 21, 1797, in the town of Cornish, New Hampshire, where his father, Nathan Smith—afterward Professor of Physic and Surgery in Yale College—had been for ten years in the practice of his profession. In a brief sketch of his father, Doctor Smith unconsciously drew the outlines of his own character. "In the practice of surgery," he said, "Professor Smith displayed an original and inventive mind. His friends claim for him the establishment of scientific principles and the invention of resources in practice which will stand as lasting monuments of a mind fertile in expe-

dients and unshackled by the dogmas of the schools.” The father, at the age of twenty-four, after an early life of industry and adventure in the then new country, had been so impressed and attracted by witnessing a surgical operation that he at once devoted himself to surgery and medicine, and with such ardor and success that for forty years succeeding he was a distinguished member and teacher in his profession. The son, with much the same natural bent of mind, after receiving his early education at Dartmouth and graduating at Yale in 1817—spending a year and a half in Virginia as a classical tutor—began the study of medicine in Yale, where his father was Professor of Physic and Surgery. He there received the degree of Doctor of Medicine, in 1823. He began practice in Burlington, Vermont, in 1824. In 1825, he was appointed Professor of Surgery and Anatomy in the University of Vermont, the Medical Department of which was organized principally by his exertions, aided by his father.

In the winter of 1825-26, he attended the medical lectures in the University of Pennsylvania, with a view to improvement in his profession and in the art of teaching in it. While there he was invited by the late celebrated surgeon, George McClellan—to whom he had become favorably known—to take the chair of Anatomy in the

new Jefferson Medical College, which McClellan and other members of the profession were engaged in organizing. This situation he occupied with success for two years, leaving it then to accept the chair of Anatomy in the School of Medicine of the University of Maryland in Baltimore, which had been vacated by Professor Granville Sharpe Pattison, in 1827. In Baltimore he soon acquired an extensive medical and surgical practice. On the death of Professor John B. Davidge he was transferred to the chair of Surgery. In the language of his biographer and colleague, Samuel C. Chew, M. D.: "In Baltimore he found a congenial home and when, at the age of fourscore, he was laid to rest among us, his name had been for a whole lifetime a household word throughout our State."

When, in 1838, he accepted the inducement offered him by the Medical Faculty of Transylvania University to occupy the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in their college at Lexington, Kentucky,¹ during the

¹Extract from Doctor Smith's letter of resignation, January 7, 1841: ". . . By the influence of the reputation and efficient exertions of the present Faculty and by the munificence of the citizens of Lexington, the Medical Department of Transylvania is now placed upon a foundation which renders its position perfectly secure. Its friends may, without fear of contradiction, pronounce it to be decidedly the best endowed medical school in America. Its patronage and the emoluments of its chairs are second to those of but one, and there are none to be associated with which I should consider it a higher honor. Under these circumstances my resignation can not exercise the least injurious influence upon its prosperity The

four months of the winter course of lectures, he did not abandon his residence in Baltimore, but at the close of each session returned to his professional work in that city. It was there especially, as a professor and practitioner of surgery, that his life-work was done.

Doctor Smith was a man of remarkable mental activity, "acuteness of perception and extraordinary power of adaptation to circumstances as they might arise, promptness of action and untiring industry. . . . And yet with his great gifts there was about him a remarkable simplicity of character and a transparent ingenuousness which was as incapable of affectation as of falsehood."

chair will immediately command the services of some one whose labors will be more efficient than mine. You will please, dear sir, convey to the members of the Faculty assurance of my great respect and affectionate consideration.

"Yours most truly,

N. R. SMITH."

Letter to Doctor Smith from the Faculty: "Dear Sir: The receipt of your communication informing us that circumstances beyond your control would oblige you to resign the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Medical Department of Transylvania University at the end of the present session, renders some expression of sentiment on our part both just and appropriate. Permit us, therefore, to assure you that we receive the information of your intended resignation with regret, and that nothing would have afforded us more gratification than the certainty of your continuance among us as a fellow-citizen and colleague. The intercourse which has existed between us for the three years during which we have been associated has been of the most harmonious and pleasant character, and the ability with which you have performed the duties of your chair increases the reluctance with which we give up the expectations of a longer co-operation with you under the auspices of Transylvania University. With the most sincere wishes for your continued increase in fame and prosperity, we remain your friends and colleagues.

THE MEDICAL FACULTY OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.

"ROBERT PETER, *Dean*."

(From *History of Medical Department of Transylvania University and its Faculty*, by William Jephtha Calvert, M. D.)

His forte was Surgery, yet his lectures here on the Theory and Practice of Medicine were exceedingly clear and instructive. One little peculiarity of his may be noticed. He never lectured without a small whalebone rod or pointer. Without this in his hand he seemed to fear the loss of continuity of his ideas. As remarked by his biographer, "his wand must always be at hand, for, like the magician's divining-rod, it seemed to have some mystic connection with the exercise of his powers."

Early in his professional life he published his work on the *Anatomy of the Arteries*, and, in his later days, his work on *Fractures of the Lower Extremities*. He was engaged in the preparation of a work on surgery at the time of his death. His inventive genius, which was remarkable, was exhibited in several improvements of the instruments and apparatus of surgery, especially in his lithotome. In the practice of his son—Professor Alan P. Smith—in a series of fifty-two consecutive cases, without a single death, he used his father's lithotome in all but six cases. This great success he attributed mainly to the instrument. Another valuable improvement was his "anterior splint."

Doctor Smith died on the third of July, 1877, a few weeks after the completion of his eightieth year, full of

honors. "He has left behind him a record of a great surgeon, a brave and true citizen and magnanimous gentleman."

ELISHA BARTLETT, M. D., ETC.

Born in Smithfield, Rhode Island, October 6, 1804. His parents, Otis and Waite Bartlett, were highly respectable members of the "Society of Friends." Their son, whose early education was under the auspices of this Society, possessed all the unostentatious virtues which characterized that sect. At the "Friends' Institution" in New York, under the celebrated teacher, Jacob Willett, he obtained a highly finished classical education. He subsequently attended medical lectures in Boston and Providence and graduated as M. D. at Brown University, Providence, in 1826. Soon after graduation he spent a year pursuing medical studies under distinguished professors in Paris, France, and in classical Italy.

In 1836, he was elected as the first mayor of the town of Lowell; was re-elected at the end of his first term, and afterward, in 1840, was honored by election to the Legislature of Massachusetts. A *statesman* and not a *politician*, he soon abandoned political life for the more congenial one of a medical teacher.

¹"In 1828, he was offered the chair of Anatomy in the Medical School at Woodstock, Vermont, which honor he declined.

"In 1832, he was appointed to a Professorship in the Medical School at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which he held for several years. He also held a chair one year in the Medical Department of Dartmouth College, and for one year in Baltimore.

"In 1841, he was called to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Medical Department of Transylvania University, which he occupied for three years with ability and success."²

After a visit to Europe he again returned, in 1846,³ to the Transylvania Medical College, teaching in the same chair for another three years.

"He subsequently delivered a course of medical lectures in the Medical School at Louisville, giving also summer lectures at Woodstock, Vermont, and other

¹Extracts from Doctor Huntington's address to the Middlesex North District Medical Society, 1856.

²Extract from the letter of resignation of Professor Bartlett, Lowell, Massachusetts, April 5, 1844: "It is unnecessary for me to go now into the considerations which lead me to this step any further than to say that they are connected *wholly* with motives of a domestic character and with the strong desire which I have long cherished and expressed of being settled in one of the Eastern cities. The only pain which the step costs me being occasioned by my separation from my present colleagues which it involves, and the dissolution of the professional and social relationship, to myself of the most amicable and agreeable character."

³During the absence of Doctor Bartlett his chair was filled by Doctor Lotan G. Watson, of North Carolina.

places—his instruction being highly appreciated by his colleagues and most acceptable to his students.

“At length he was called to an important professorship in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York. Here he continued for three years, when, compelled by failing health, he abandoned the position to retire to his paternal acres in Smithfield—to die, after a long and lingering illness, on July 19, 1855.”

His disease—partial paralysis of the lower extremities, with torturing neuralgia and finally softening of the brain, the result of lead poisoning, caused—as he believed, and as he informed the writer—by the use of water which had passed for a considerable distance through leaden pipes.

The beautiful and sterling traits of the character of Doctor Bartlett are most happily portrayed by the distinguished medical professor and poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes, in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, August 16, 1855, from which we make a few extracts, viz:

“Hardly any American physician was more widely known to his countrymen, or more favorably considered abroad, where his writings had carried his name. His personal graces were known to a less extensive circle of admiring friends. . . . To them it is easy to recall

his ever-welcome and gracious presence. On his expanded forehead no one could fail to trace the impress of a large and calm intelligence. . . . A man so full of life will rarely be found so gentle and quiet in all his ways. . . . The same qualities which fitted him for a public speaker naturally gave him signal success as a teacher. Had he possessed nothing but his clearness and eloquence of language and elocution, he could hardly have failed to find a popular welcome. . . . He had a manner at once impressive and pleasing, a lucid order which kept the attention and intelligence of the slowest hearer, and attractions of a personal character always esteemed and beloved by students. . . . Yet few suspected him of giving utterance in rhythmical shape to his thoughts or feelings. It was only when his failing limbs could bear him no longer, as conscious existence slowly retreated from the palsied nerves, that he revealed himself freely in truest and tenderest form of expression. We knew he was dying by slow degrees, and we heard from him from time to time, or saw him always serene and always hopeful while hope could have a place in his earthly future . . . when to the friends he loved there came, as a farewell gift, . . . a little book with a few songs in it—songs with his whole warm heart in them—they knew that his hour was come, and their tears fell fast

as they read the loving thoughts that he had clothed in words of beauty and melody.

“Among the memorials of departed friendships we treasure the little book of ‘songs,’ entitled *Simple Settings in Verse for Six Portraits from Mr. Dickens’ Gallery*, Boston, 1855—his last present, as it was his last production.”

DOCTOR LOTAN G. WATSON,

Of North Carolina, filled the chair of Theory and Practice in Transylvania in the sessions of 1844 and 1845 only. He came highly recommended as a physician of extensive practice of not less than twenty years. “A gentleman of undoubted talents. He has the reputation of bringing to his cases a great affluence of resource and fertility of expedient, regulated by a judgment discriminative and safe. He writes with facility and elegance, and converses with fluency, animation, and impressiveness. He thinks clearly and communicates his ideas with facility and a corresponding clearness.” Extract from letter of Senator W. P. Mangum, of North Carolina.

LEONIDAS M. LAWSON, M. D.,

Who filled the chair of General and Pathological Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical Department of Transylvania University from 1843 to 1846, inclusive, was born in Nicholas County, Kentucky, September 10, 1812. He had received his medical degree from this same department of Transylvania in 1837.

He was engaged in Cincinnati in private practice, giving clinical instruction in the hospital and editing his recently established medical periodical, *The Western Lancet*—of which he was sole originator and proprietor—when he was called to the newly established chair of General and Pathological Anatomy and Physiology in the Transylvania Medical Department, in which he had graduated.

Here he taught with great success until called to the chair of Materia Medica and General Pathology in the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati in 1847. During the vacation months of 1845, he spent seven months in a visit to Europe, and especially in clinical studies in Guy's Hospital, London, with great advantage to himself.

Doctor Lawson continued to teach from this chair until the death of Professor J. P. Harrison, whom he succeeded in that of the Principles and Practice of Medi-

cine and Clinical Medicine, in the same college in 1852. He was appointed Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Kentucky School of Medicine in Louisville in 1854, but accepted a call to the same chair in the Medical College of Ohio, Cincinnati, in 1857. He filled the chair of Clinical Medicine in the University of Louisiana, New Orleans, in 1860, but returned in consequence of the Civil War to the Medical College of Ohio the following year, in which college he remained until his death, January 21, 1864.

He founded the *Western Lancet*, and was its sole editor and proprietor from 1842 up to the time of his decease. He also edited *Hope's Morbid Anatomy*, 1844, and published a treatise on the *Practical Treatment of Phthisis Pulmonalis* in 1861.

Doctor Lawson was a lover of his profession and a most indefatigable worker and student. Remarkably lucid and impressive in his oral teachings, and methodical in his laborious professional and editorial occupations, he was a modest but self-possessed, undemonstrative gentleman of high probity and personal merit. The world at large did not fully appreciate his value, or that of his labors.

His daughter, Miss Louisa Lawson, studied sculpture as a profession, and as an artist is well known.

ETHELBERT LUDLOW DUDLEY, M. D.,

Nephew of the late distinguished surgeon, Benjamin W. Dudley, was his private pupil for many years. He graduated in the Medical Department of Transylvania University with distinguished honor in 1842, after having attended three full courses of instruction in that department. His first course of medical lectures was in the winter of 1838-39. It was the first session in which the present writer occupied the chair of Chemistry and Pharmacy, and well he remembers the assiduous attention of his pupil; his avidity in the acquisition of knowledge and his unusual ability to retain it. Distrusting yet his own attainments and desirous of more thorough training before taking upon himself the responsible and arduous offices of a practitioner, he, under the immediate charge of his uncle, then in active practice, attended two other full courses of medical lectures (sessions 1842-43 and 1843-44) as resident graduate. During this period he sometimes officiated as prosector to his distinguished kinsman.¹

¹In 1842 the Transylvania University had been placed under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a Faculty as follows: Reverend H. B. Bascom, D. D., Acting President and Morrison Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; Benjamin W. Dudley, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; James C. Cross, M. D., Professor of Institutes and Medical Jurisprudence; Elisha Bartlett, M. D., Professor of Theory and Practice; William H. Richardson, M. D.,



DOCTOR ETHELBERT L. DUDLEY.

From a Photograph.

Before the next following session, Doctor Ethelbert L. Dudley was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy in the place of Doctor James M. Bush, who had been promoted to the chair of Anatomy. This responsible office he filled until called to the chair of General and Pathological Anatomy in 1847-48.

From the origin of this medical school Professor Benjamin W. Dudley had taught in the combined chair of Anatomy and Surgery, blending the two in a manner most instructive and practical.¹ In 1837, he accepted Doctor James M. Bush as adjunct to the combined professorship, and in 1844, Doctor Bush having been appointed Professor of Anatomy, the elder Dudley restricted himself to the chair of the Principles of Surgery.

In the summer of 1846, Doctor Ethelbert L. Dudley

Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Thomas D. Mitchell, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; Robert Peter, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy; James M. Bush, M. D., Adjunct Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; Honorable George Robertson, LL. D., Professor of Constitutional Law, Equity, and the Law of Comity; Honorable Thomas A. Marshall, LL.D., Law of Pleading, Evidence, and Contract; Honorable A. K. Woolley, LL.D., Professor of Elementary Principles of Common Law, National and Commercial Law; Reverend R. T. P. Allen, A. M., Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Civil Engineering; Reverend B. H. McCoun, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature; Reverend W. H. Anderson, A. M., Professor of English Literature; Reverend J. L. Kemp, A. M., Adjunct Professor of Mathematics, Preparatory Department; Reverend Thomas H. Lynch, A. M., Adjunct Professor of Languages, Preparatory Department; —————, Principal of the Junior Section of the Preparatory Department.

N. B.—The Reverend Wright Merrick was appointed to the above vacancy.

¹Doctor C. C. Graham said that Doctor Dudley tenaciously held that these two chairs should always be combined.

was appointed to deliver a course of lectures on Comparative Anatomy. This duty he performed to the highest satisfaction of all concerned; and when, almost at the beginning of the next regular session (1847-48), he was called to the chair of Anatomy and Physiology, he successfully encountered the great labor of preparing and delivering a new course of lectures on these subjects. At the same time he also discharged the arduous duties of Demonstrator of Anatomy—duties more onerous in this school, in our small inland city, than in most other medical colleges. No one in the whole school accomplished half the work which he mastered. No task seemed too great for his young and ardent energies.

In 1849, he originated and took upon himself the sole charge as editor of the *Transylvania Medical Journal*, a new series of the old *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*. He published three volumes in three successive years, aided only occasionally by some of his colleagues. In the spring of 1850, he visited Europe for professional improvement, making many friends; amongst the distinguished medical men of England particularly. Immediately on his return from Europe, in the autumn of that year, the present writer announced to him, in the city of New York, his appointment to the chair of Descriptive Anatomy and Histology in the Kentucky School of

Medicine. This was a new school which some of the physicians of Louisville and professors of the Lexington school were about to establish in the former city, to which place students of medicine from the South and West were beginning to flock, to the neglect somewhat of the time-honored Transylvania school, in which it was proposed to continue medical instruction in summer sessions.

This appointment he accepted, joining in the preliminary October course of lectures and aiding greatly by his talents and energy in building up that institution. Transferred in the following year to the chair of Surgery in the Transylvania summer school, on the retirement of his uncle from active professional life, he continued to teach with distinguished ability in the position made illustrious by his predecessor, until the close of the school shortly before the outbreak of our Civil War.

In the second year of the Kentucky School of Medicine, he was transferred to the chair of Surgical Anatomy and Operative Surgery, and accordingly gave the surgical-clinical instruction in the Marine Hospital of Louisville to the combined classes of the two medical schools of that city during the session of 1851-52. A course which was a decided success for the young professor and surgeon, and which helped to place him at once on the elevated position as a professional man and a gentleman

which he maintained to the day of his death and to which few men, of his age especially, ever are fortunate enough to attain.¹

After another successful session in this school he, with the other Transylvania professors, resigned and returned permanently to Lexington, resuming his practice there and his duties in the renewed winter sessions of the Transylvania Medical Department.

As a practitioner, especially of surgery, Doctor E. L. Dudley always commanded the highest respect and admiration of his colleagues as well as the confidence and affections of his patients. Singularly unselfish and always willing to devote himself fully to his profession, his patients and his friends, few men had the power so quickly and so firmly to bind others to him with the ties of affection.

With nerves as of steel, clear eye, quick judgment and answering hand, combined with the kind feelings of a woman and a fullness of professional knowledge rarely surpassed, his short career as a surgeon—all too brief!—was yet a brilliant one. Had his life been spared to him the name of Dudley had achieved a yet higher distinction in the annals of surgery.

¹ Doctor L. B. Todd calls him "that knightly Bayard of Kentucky Surgery."

At the outbreak of our Civil War, Doctor Dudley's loyal attachment to the nation and his love of country caused him to take an active part against the rebellion. While the fate of Kentucky hung yet in the balance of a professed neutrality, he was actively instrumental in organizing a battalion of "Home Guards," of which he was at once appointed Commandant—an organization which greatly helped to prevent the precipitation of our State into the war for secession.¹

Obtaining authority to organize a regiment of volunteers for active service, of which he was Colonel, preferring this active position to the less belligerent one of Medical Director which was proffered him, he left Lexington with his command for the southern part of the State. There, exhausted by the continued labors and

¹An incident well told by his son-in-law, General Joseph C. Breckinridge, is characteristic of Dudley. When, during the Civil War, a struggle was imminent between the secessionists and the Home Guard for possession of a large shipment of arms and ammunition sent into Kentucky by the United States Government for the arming of Union soldiers and citizens, Dudley, fearing the Home Guard at Lexington would be overpowered and the munitions captured on arrival, sent as a trusty messenger to General Nelson, at Camp Dick Robinson, to ask for troops—a midnight journey of twenty miles through a hostile country—his only son, Scott Dudley, a youth scarcely seventeen. He saddled the horse and armed the boy himself, at dead of night, the better to insure secrecy, for in his own household were foes. This mission was successful. (See speech of General Joseph C. Breckinridge, United States Army, at the reunion of the Army of the Cumberland, Chattanooga, October 10, 1900.) Ensign J. Cabell Breckinridge, United States Navy, the first life lost on the threshold of the Spanish War, and Lieutenant Ethelbert D. Breckinridge, seriously wounded almost at the very instant that his General, the well-beloved Lawton, fell beside him in the Philippines, were grandsons of Doctor Dudley.

exposures of his combined offices of colonel, surgeon and physician to his men (which he would not commit to another), he fell a victim to typhoid fever on February 20, 1862, at the age of forty-four. His remains, brought to Lexington, were received with public honors and were followed to the cemetery by a long procession of sorrowing friends.

SAMUEL ANNAN, M. D.,

Was born at Philadelphia, Pa., in the year 1800—a descendant of Scotch ancestors. He graduated as M. D. at the Edinburgh University in 1820. His thesis, entitled *De Appoplexia Sanguinia*, is in the library of the Medical and Surgical Faculty of Maryland. He was licentiate of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland in 1822, being then ex-President of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh.

From 1827 to 1834, he ably occupied the chair of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical Department of Washington University at Baltimore, Maryland. From 1838 to 1845, he was physician to the Baltimore Almshouse. In 1846, he was called to the chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children in the Medical Department of Transylvania University, a position which he occupied with great ability until, in 1849, he was trans-

ferred to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the same institution, in which he gave general satisfaction until 1854, when he resigned that position.

During the years 1853-57, he was Superintendent to the Insane Asylum at Hopkinsville, Kentucky. He became surgeon to the Confederate States Army at the outbreak of our Civil War in 1861, maintaining that position until 1864. In 1866, he was surgeon to the steamship "Carroll" of the Liverpool line, from April to November. He died at Baltimore, January 19, 1868.

Doctor Annan was a person of great activity of mind and body, of high intelligence and probity of character. In the course of his active life and practice in his profession he found time to contribute many valuable articles to the medical journals, of which we quote the following, viz:

"Cases of Bronchotomy." Maryland Medical Recorder, Vol. VII, p. 42. 1823.

"On the Surgical Anatomy of Hernia." Ibid., Vol. III, p. 529. 1829.

"On Polypus Nasi." Ibid., No. 3, p. 655. 1830.

"On the Use of Wine in Fevers." Ibid., p. 279. 1831.

"Address to the Graduates of Washington University." 1834.

"New Views of Certain Dislocations." American Journal of Medical Science, Vol. XVIII, p. 376. 1836.

"On the Treatment of Prolapsus Ani." Ibid., p. 334. 1836.

"On Spinal Irritation and Inflammation." Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 85. 1837.

"On Cases in the Baltimore Alms-house." Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 378. 1838.

"On Wind Contusions." American Medical Journal, Vol. II, pp. 3, 133, and 213. 1838.

"On Cases in the Baltimore Alms-house." Journal of Medical Science, Vol. XXIV, p. 316; and Journal of Medical Science, Vol. XXV, p. 32. 1839.

"On Cases in the Baltimore Alms-house." Medical and Surgical Journal, pp. 322 and 338. 1840.

"Lecture at Opening of Kentucky School of Medicine." 1850.

"On Fracture of the Skull." American Medical Record, No. 3, Vol. II, p. 449.

"Case of Laceration of the Ileum from External Injury." American Journal of Medical Science, p. 287. 1838.

For most of the facts contained in this brief sketch of the active life of Doctor Annan we are indebted to the kindness of Doctor Oscar J. Coskery, of Baltimore.

NOTE.—In 1850, Doctor Annan accepted the chair of Pathology and Practice of Medicine in the new Kentucky School of Medicine in Louisville, which position he occupied for two years with great ability, when he resigned to return to his native city.

In 1849, when Doctor Annan was transferred to the chair of Theory and Practice, the chair of Obstetrics was filled by Doctor William M. Boling, of Montgomery, Alabama, for one session. Doctor Boling had taught in the Memphis Medical School of Tennessee, and was “favorably known in the South as a good practitioner, an able medical writer, and an excellent teacher.”

PROFESSOR HENRY M. BULLITT

Occupied the chair of Materia Medica and Medical Botany with ability during the session of 1849-50, after which, with the aid of some of his Transylvania associates, he established the “Kentucky School of Medicine,” which still maintains a prosperous condition.

“Doctor Bullitt commenced the study of medicine at seventeen years of age, in the office of Doctor Coleman Rogers, senior, of Louisville, entering the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania as a pupil, and graduating with high honor in 1838. Returning to

Louisville, he began the practice of medicine in partnership with Doctor Joshua B. Flint, thus continuing for many years, their office being the headquarters of the prominent physicians of this city.

"Doctor Bullitt passed the year 1845 in Europe, where he took advantage of every opportunity of advancing in medical knowledge. He returned liberally equipped with the good fruits of his sojourn abroad. In 1846, he was elected a professor in the St. Louis Medical College and lectured there in 1846-47 and 1847-48. In 1849, he was elected to the chair of *Materia Medica*, etc., in Transylvania University. . . . In 1850, he was mainly instrumental in the establishment of the Kentucky School of Medicine in Louisville, aided by 'prominent members of the Faculty of Transylvania.'

"In 1866, he was elected to the chair of Theory and Practice in the University of Louisville, and, in 1867, was transferred to that of Physiology. In 1868, he established the Louisville Medical College, with which he remained during the several years of his professional life, his increasing deafness greatly marring his social and professional enjoyments.

"Doctor Bullitt was an able writer on professional subjects. . . . He held, successively, chairs in five medical schools," in all with great ability.

"In 1866, he was elected Health Officer of the city of Louisville," which office he most ably filled. . . . "Doctor Bullitt was one of the ablest Health Officers the city ever possessed," and was author of many papers of "great merit in numerous medical journals. His great affliction, deafness, was all that prevented him from taking the foremost position among medical practitioners, teachers, and writers. But he bore the misfortune with singular equanimity and fortitude."

Doctor Bullitt died on the seventh of January, 1880, after a number of weeks' confinement to his bed with Bright's disease.

The greater part of this brief sketch of the life of Doctor Bullitt is copied from an able obituary notice published in the *Louisville Journal* at the time of his death.

HENRY MARTYN SKILLMAN, M. D.,

Youngest child of Thomas T. and Elizabeth Farrar Skillman, born September 4, 1824, at Lexington, Kentucky, was educated in Transylvania University. He spent two or three years in the drug and apothecary business in Lexington, and commenced the study of medicine and surgery in 1844, graduating as Doctor of Medicine, etc.,

in 1847. He was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical Department of Transylvania University in 1848. In 1851, he was appointed Professor of General and Pathological Anatomy and Physiology, which position he occupied with skill and success until the close of the Medical College in 1857. Since that time he has devoted himself to the duties of his profession in medicine and surgery, being "one of the most skillful, successful, and accomplished physicians in Kentucky," and "having inherited the admirable qualities of his parents, is one of the most honorable and useful citizens of Lexington."¹

Since the above was written, the gentle and busy life of this last surviving member of the Transylvania Medical Faculty came suddenly to a close at his home in Lexington, March 21, 1902, at a quarter past four o'clock in the afternoon, apparently without warning. Only two hours previously, handsome and smiling and dignified as usual, he had visited a patient, and he expected in a few hours to resume his professional rounds when the last summons came.

It is hardly possible for a man to depart this life without leaving an enemy, but if Doctor Skillman, in his fifty-four years of active professional life, had made even a

¹Quoted from the *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky*, etc., of 1878.



DOCTOR HENRY MARTYN SKILLMAN.

From a Photograph by Mullen.

few enemies they hesitated to declare themselves. His own nature was to see good in others; their defects were not made prominent by him. As he spoke no evil, so nothing but good was said of him. But with his amiable, benevolent, compromising disposition there was no trace of weakness. Strict in professional etiquette, immovable in principle, he repelled with gentle but irresistible firmness every effort to shake his integrity. The loveliness of his character and personality is best portrayed in "Luke, the Beloved Physician," a tribute paid, on his death, editorially in the *Lexington Herald* by Kentucky's favorite orator and statesman, every word of which is as true as it is well-chosen and beautiful. Doctor Skillman held numerous offices of trust; was elected, in 1869, President of Kentucky State Medical Society and, in 1889, the first President of Lexington and Fayette County Medical Society, and was at the time of his death the oldest practicing physician in Lexington, having seen that city grow from eight thousand to thirty thousand inhabitants. It is claimed that he was the first physician to administer chloroform there. For two years during the Civil War he was contract surgeon for the Government.

Doctor Skillman's father, Thomas T. Skillman, a native of New Jersey, came to Lexington in 1809, and

soon founded there the largest publishing house in the Mississippi Valley, the name of T. T. Skillman on the title page of a work being a guarantee of its excellence and fitness for the family circle. In 1823, an edition of several thousand copies of the entire Bible was published by Mr. Skillman from stereotype plates sent from New York by the American Bible Society. He founded the *Evangelical Recorder and Western Review*, afterward edited by Reverend John Breckinridge, the young and talented pastor of "the McChord Church"; also the *Western Luminary*, in 1824, the first religious paper issued in the West.

Doctor Skillman married, October 30, 1851, Margaret, daughter of Matthew T. Scott, President of the Northern Bank of Kentucky. Of their children only one is living, Henry Martyn Skillman, of the Lexington Security Trust and Safety Vault Company.

SAMUEL M. LETCHER, M. D.,

Of a prominent Kentucky family, also a graduate of the Medical Department of Transylvania University who had won distinction in his profession in Lexington, was called to the chair of Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children in that school in 1851, and per-

formed the duties of that chair with ability and success until the close of the Medical College in Lexington in 1857. During the Civil War he was placed in charge of a United States General Hospital in Lexington, a position which he held for some time, giving great satisfaction. He died February 1, 1863, in Lexington, Kentucky.

JOHN ROWAN ALLEN, M. D.,

Who was Superintendent of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum at Lexington,¹ Kentucky, and who first introduced there the moral treatment of the insane instead of forcible means, was appointed Professor of Materia Medica and Botany in 1851, and performed the duties of this chair with great ability until the end of the session of 1855, when he resigned that position.

DOCTOR WILLIAM STOUT CHIPLEY

Was born in Lexington, Kentucky, October 18, 1810, the only son of Reverend Stephen and Amelia Stout Chipley, the forefathers of both of whom were pioneers of Lexington. Doctor Chipley was graduated at Tran-

¹We learn from old announcements, etc., that, as early as 1830, the Medical Faculty of Transylvania University offered their services gratuitously to the Eastern Kentucky Lunatic Asylum, through Samuel Theobalds, M. D., and that, in 1845, Doctor John R. Allen was to deliver clinical lectures to the medical class, at the Lunatic Asylum every Saturday.

sylvania in 1832, with marked honor. Not a great while after his graduation he took issue with Doctor Benjamin Dudley, the oldest and most renowned practitioner of the State—or indeed of the whole country. Doctor Dudley had published a treatise upon the treatment of a special disease. Doctor Chipley took an opposite view, expressing himself most boldly and brilliantly. His article was published in an advanced medical journal and copied widely. Chipley received widespread encomiums. Indeed, he came off with raised banner, and his colors have never since been furled. His success was progressive this article exemplifying his determination when convinced he was right. Later he went to Columbus, Georgia, feeling assured it was a fine opening for a young practitioner, and so it proved. He was soon launched into an almost phenomenal practice, extending across the Chattahoochee River into Alabama to the Indian nation, where his wonderful magnetism was felt to such a degree that he won the confidence—even friendship—of these savages. He would be detained days at a time ministering to them—a tribe, too, by no means regarded as friendly to the whites. In April, 1837, he married in Columbus, Georgia, Elizabeth Fanning, niece and adopted daughter of Colonel James Fanning, of Alamo fame. Doctor Chipley was at one time Mayor

of Columbus, and made a brilliant reputation as an executive officer. At the entreaties of his mother and father, who were quite advanced in age, he turned a deaf ear to the opposition of his legion of friends in Columbus and returned to Lexington, Kentucky, where it seemed a flourishing practice did but await him. He was a very successful Professor of Transylvania in the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine, from 1854 to 1857, inclusive. As a lecturer he had a wonderful flow of language. The possessor of a perfect voice and delivery, he chained the attention of all listeners. Often have I heard his patients say his sunshiny presence, his gentle, sympathetic touch in the sick-room, dulled pain and was better than drugs. He was a brilliant and forceful writer, the author of many medical works and the writer of numerous articles published in medical journals of the highest note. One small book of his gave him much notoriety. Chief Justice George Robertson, of Lexington, regarded it of such high worth that he gave fifteen hundred dollars to have it published and placed as a healthful guide in certain schools for boys. It was in 1855 that he took charge of the Eastern Kentucky Lunatic Asylum at Lexington. This proved a wide field for the development of the most astonishing tact and management of individuals. The attendants greatly admired him and yielded without

question to his dictation. Gentle as a woman, adamant after a decision, never acting hastily, maturing a subject before deciding—these characteristics were shown on all occasions where it pertained to the comfort of the poor creatures under his care. During his fifteen or sixteen years of most successful management of this institution, he made many radical changes for the amelioration of the condition of these unfortunates. Winter after winter he haunted the legislative halls in behalf of the Asylum, spending his own personal means most lavishly to meet this end—presenting one bill after another, which sooner or later were always honored. His enthusiasm and faithfulness carried conviction with them. When he took charge of the Asylum he found it a conglomerate mass—many from other States there—incurables, epileptics, idiots—all huddled together. He went carefully over the records and proceeded to institute a thorough weeding. First he notified the governors of the respective States to send for their own insane, giving them a stated time of grace, and telling them that if the call was not honored he would send the patients to their doors by one of his own attendants, which he did in several instances. This systematizing was a great step forward. The next thing he did was to induce the State to erect an institution for idiots, believing there were

few born who were not capable of receiving some degree of cultivation. In time a home was built at Frankfort, the result proving his great wisdom. It was a matter of wonderment to see these poor creatures developing from a driveling state of nonentity into some capacity for the enjoyment of life, and even to a degree of usefulness. There were but few incapable of being taught some employment which rendered their life more than a mere existence, akin alone to the lower animals. To have succeeded in this was enough to mark any man's life. His philanthropy never slept. Then, through his direct intervention, the Asylum at Anchorage for incurables was erected; all these changes making room for those who stood a chance of being cured instead of their being turned, for the lack of room, from the sheltering care which might restore them. I think his influence was brought to bear upon the advisability of an institution for the deaf and dumb, which culminated in the home made for them in Danville. I think it was in or about the year 1857 he went to Europe, absolutely for the purpose of gaining an insight into better ways and means of the treatment of the insane and the construction of the buildings which were their homes. Though there was such an emptying of the old Eastern Kentucky Lunatic Asylum building, it soon became altogether

insufficient to meet the demands. Applications poured in, and soon, after a hard-fought battle, the legislature made an appropriation to add to the old building, and promptly there was under construction a building which, when finished, for comfort and in a sanitary way was unequaled. This, years after his death, was destroyed by fire, and when rebuilt, I understand, was modeled after the old plan. He was his own architect, his whole heart and being merged in a desire to have all as nearly perfect as possible, developing thus a new talent. He always had in view a private asylum of his own. This purpose was crystallized when it became apparent that politics would govern the State institutions, though in opposition to all that was humane. He resigned December, 1869. He purchased "Duncannon," the beautiful Duncan home near Lexington. The site selected, lumber on the place, all plans formulated, having gained such advanced ideas from his long and successful experience he hoped to have an ideal shelter for those who preferred private treatment. On December 9, 1871, at eleven o'clock at night, snow on the ground, standing with his family and several whom even then he had under his charge around him, after barely escaping with their lives, he saw the "Duncannon" mansion reduced to ashes. This disaster crippled his efforts to the degree that he was forced to forego that which if carried through would

have proven a monument to his memory of no small magnitude. He then rented a house in Lexington, where he had some patients under his charge, with a private attendant who had won many laurels in this capacity. Doctor Chipley was frequently called upon, even in other States, to decide in the courts as a specialist in insanity. He had a great number under his private treatment in their own homes, of whom the world never knew. He had innumerable offers of positions, but none seemed to appeal to him so much as one at College Hill, near Cincinnati, Ohio. He accepted this offer. His success here proved a very decided one, redeeming the institution from great financial stress and opening up astonishing possibilities. He had four sons—only one now living (1903)—and one daughter (the present writer). He left many friends in Lexington who were ever beckoning him back, and to the last he hoped to return where his heart was. But after only a few years of service at College Hill he contracted a cold from which he never recovered. He died February 11, 1880. Invitations had been issued for a reunion in honor of his aged mother, who was ninety-seven the day he died. A train was to be chartered and Lexington friends were to come. He has left a memory of his gathered laurels and honored name more precious than the gems of the universe.

EMILY CHIPLEY JONES.

DOCTOR JAMES MORRISON BRUCE

Was a son¹ of John Bruce, a Scottish gentleman associated with Colonel James Morrison and Benjamin Gratz in the manufacture of hemp at Lexington, Kentucky, and was born at that place in 1822. After completing a collegiate education, he studied medicine with Doctor Benjamin W. Dudley, taking the degree of M. D. in Transylvania in 1843. He then spent three years in France, studying in the principal hospitals at Paris under the most eminent instructors. In 1846, he returned to Lexington to begin the practice of his profession. He was elected to the chair of Demonstrator of Anatomy in Transylvania Medical Department in 1850, continuing therein until the cessation of the school in 1857. Doctor Bruce's intrinsic merit was fully appreciated by his colleagues, who had great affection for him, but his excessively shrinking nature withheld him from taking the prominent position with the public to which his ability and learning entitled him. In truth, his chief characteristic was his modest, amiable, and retiring disposition. His specialty in medicine was eruptive disease. In the treatment of smallpox his professional brethren conceded

¹Other sons were William Wallace, Benjamin Gratz, and Colonel Saunders D. Bruce.

him the highest place. For many years he was continuously elected City Physician, and holding this office he died, January 31, 1881, the sudden ending of his useful and kindly life being largely due to the exposure he so constantly and bravely encountered in his visits to the suffering poor during an unusually severe and trying winter. Says a fellow-physician,¹ "It was then that the great and good qualities of our friend and co-laborer, Doctor Bruce, shone pre-eminently. It was at a time when poverty and distress appealed to him that his great-heartedness, his forgetfulness of self, and his proficient medical skill forced itself before that public attention from which at all other times it timidly shrunk." Doctor Bruce married, in 1847, Miss Elizabeth Norton. Of his children Miss Elizabeth Bruce and Mrs. Charlotte B. Davis, of Lexington, survive him.

DOCTOR ALEXANDER KEITH MARSHALL,

Born February 11, 1808, performed the duties of the chair of Materia Medica in 1856. He had received a classical education from his father, the celebrated Doctor Louis Marshall, of "Buck Pond"; studied medicine with Doctor Ephraim McDowell, and completed his medical

¹ Doctor L. B. Todd.

course at Transylvania. He was a handsome man, a forcible speaker, a prominent politician and Odd Fellow, and a member of Congress in 1855. He died at the home of his son, Louis, near Lexington, April, 28, 1884.¹

BENJAMIN P. DRAKE, M. D.,

A graduate of Transylvania Medical Department in 1830, occupied the chair of Materia Medica in the last year of the school in 1857.

During the last two years of the Medical Department of Transylvania University the Faculty were:

Ethelbert L. Dudley, Surgery.

James M. Bush, Anatomy.

William S. Chipley, Theory and Practice.

Samuel M. Letcher, Obstetrics, etc.

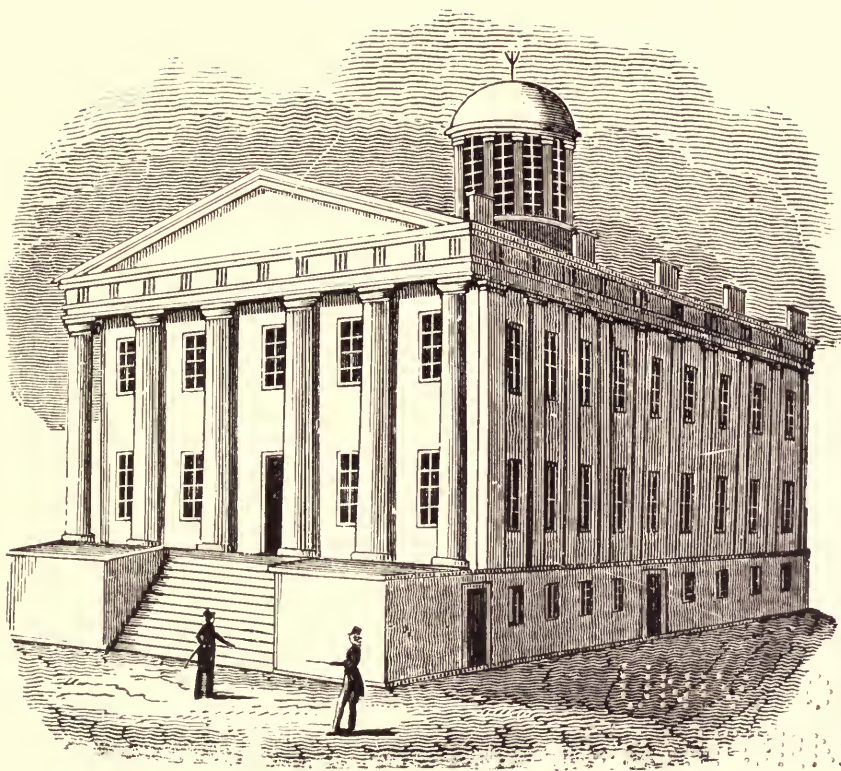
Henry M. Skillman, Physiology and Institutes of Medicine.

Alexander K. Marshall, Materia Medica and Botany, 1856.

Benjamin P. Drake, Materia Medica and Botany, 1857.

Robert Peter, Chemistry and Pharmacy; Dean.

¹See *The Marshall Family*, by W. M. Paxton, 1885.



TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY—MEDICAL HALL.

Built in 1839—Burned in 1863.

From 1850 until the end in 1857, the existence of the school seems to have been an heroic struggle against fate. In spite of the fine Medical Hall, alluded to on the day of its dedication (November 2, 1840) by President Robert Davidson,¹ as "colossal in size and surpassing in architectural beauty," in spite of liberal endowments and "costly and complete apparatus, superior to any in the valley of the Mississippi, and not surpassed, if equaled, by any on the continent,"² the school languished. Notwithstanding the efforts of zealous Trustees and generous citizens, notwithstanding the diligence of an able Faculty, the classes steadily decreased from year to year until, in 1857, with only nine graduates, the Faculty in despair disbanded, and the time-honored Medical Department of Transylvania University was no more.

Two factors more than all else (except as before mentioned, the impossibility of securing sufficient material for clinical instruction) had contributed to its demise—the retirement of Doctor Dudley in 1850, and the difficulty that existed in establishing the needed railroads throughout the State. The latter cause had been operating unfavorably and with increasing effect almost ever since the introduction of steam transportation.

¹Address at Morrison College on being inaugurated President of Transylvania University.

²Doctor Peter's introductory lecture to the Medical Class, November, 1842.

Enlightened thinkers had early recognized and urged the vital importance of railroads for Kentucky, and especially for Lexington and Transylvania, and had bravely advanced to conquer the difficulties of the situation, but with only discouragement and pecuniary loss for many years. The peculiar topography of the State, the constant alternation of hill and valley, the numerous streams, the hardness of the rock to be penetrated, made the building of railways very expensive, and capital was wanting. The wealth of Central Kentucky was in the soil, not in the purse, and without communication with the markets of the world this wealth was unavailable. In this manner enterprise was checked and Lexington sank into an apathetic state. It is true she had secured the distinction of having the first railroad in the West and the second in the United States,¹ but for years it only led to Frankfort, an interior town but twenty-eight miles distant. It was not until 1851 that it connected with Louisville.

Of Doctor Dudley's influence upon the medical school Doctor David W. Yandell truly says:² "The history of the Medical Department of Transylvania University—its rise, its success, its decline, its disappearance from

¹The first railroad was the Baltimore & Ohio, chartered March, 1827, but not completed to the Ohio until 1853—twenty-six years.

²*Pioneer Surgery in Kentucky.*

the list of medical colleges—would practically cover Doctor Dudley's career, and would form a most interesting chapter in the development of medical teaching in the Southwest. But it must suffice me here to say that Doctor Dudley created the medical department of the institution and directed its policy. Its students regarded him from the beginning as the foremost man in the Faculty. That he had colleagues whose mental endowments were superior to his he himself at all times freely admitted. He is said to have laid no claim to either oratorical power or professional erudition. He was not a logician, he was not brilliant, and his deliverances were spiced with neither humor nor wit. And yet, says one of his biographers, in ability to enchain the students' attention, to impress them with the value of his instructions and his greatness as a teacher, he bore off the palm from all the gifted men who at various periods taught at his side."

But although these two would appear to be the more obvious reasons for the decline of the Medical Department of Transylvania, we can by no means ignore the injurious effect of rival medical colleges growing up at points more accessible and more progressive than Lexington could possibly be without rapid transit of some sort to make her own peculiar advantages available.

Nor can we overlook the evil consequences of the opposition systematically shown to the Transylvania Medical School by the faction originating in the attempt to disorganize the institution in 1837.

However, in reviewing all these influences, the prosperity of Lexington to-day (1904), her rapid growth, her increasing enterprise, her vigorous trade, the flourishing condition of her colleges and seminaries—all of which has come to her since the completion of the railroads centering in her—abundantly prove that this communication, above everything else, was her indispensable requirement.

While the medical school was closed in 1857, the Academical Department of Transylvania University continued to be conducted at the Morrison College as a State Normal School,¹ under the Presidency of the distinguished Doctor Lewis W. Green, D. D., but was soon to be disorganized, after only two years of usefulness, on account of a supposed unconstitutionality. Thus Transylvania was again humbled to a low estate in educational distinction. Lexington herself was suffering an era of banishment, as we may say, for without proper railroad

¹"In 1856, the Trustees of Morrison College came to the legislature of Kentucky and offered all the buildings, the library, the apparatus, and grounds, which were valued at over two hundred thousand dollars, if the State would take it and establish a Normal School." . . . Speech of Honorable C. J. Bronston on the Agricultural and Mechanical College tax. The idea of a Normal School originated with Doctor Robert J. Breckinridge several years before.

connections she was excluded from progress and rendered inaccessible to both labor and capital. The financial prosperity of her citizens was not such as to warrant the lavish hospitality formerly shown to strangers within her gates, and especially to the students in Transylvania. The enterprising individuals who remained to her were not sufficient in numbers to dispel by their most strenuous exertions the lethargy which had fallen upon the place.

Such was the state of affairs immediately preceding the Civil War. The immense Medical Hall had reverted to the city and was deserted, save the laboratory in which was still being busily conducted the chemical work of the first Geological Survey of Kentucky; and save perhaps one of the smaller rooms, rented to a lodger. The survey had just received a sudden check in the death of the lamented Doctor Owen when the war still further darkened the prospect, during which, as a matter of course, the resumption of the survey was out of the question. The Morrison College was almost immediately appropriated by the United States Government for a general hospital, and, some time after, the Medical Hall, which as before mentioned was utterly destroyed by fire¹ during its occupation by the sick soldiers. The

¹May 22, 1863. *Collins' History of Kentucky.*

conflagration originated, it appeared, from a defective flue of a temporary frame kitchen, built adjoining.¹

The corner-stone of this Medical Hall had been laid July 4, 1839; Robert Wickliffe, junior, the well-beloved, making the address. It was dedicated November 2, 1840. Of Grecian architecture, massive and without ornamentation, it contained three great lecture rooms, with ample provision for light and ventilation. The amphitheatre was immediately below the cupola, being by this means lighted from above. There were three other large apartments—for the library, the anatomical museum, and for other medical teaching. Smaller rooms accommodated the laboratory, Faculty room, janitor's room, etc. Besides which were long halls or galleries utilized for natural history collections, museums of zoology, ornithology, geology, etc., as also for apparatus of divers sorts. The costly and complete chemical apparatus was well displayed and conveniently arranged in the immense lecture room for that department.

In the spacious lecture-room in the front of the building many fashionable and distinguished audiences had

¹From the report of the Treasurer of the University, 1871, it is gathered that after long and persistent effort on his part while in Washington there was secured from the Government the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars "for the rents and damages to the medical college and other Transylvania property during the war," nearly one half of which was claimed and recovered from the University by the city of Lexington on the plea that the Medical Hall had been abandoned.



ABSOLOM DRIVER.

For many years Janitor at the Medical Hall of Transylvania University.

assembled on various occasions, not only to hear the gifted incumbent professors in due discourse of introductory or valedictory, but to be charmed with concerts by Ole Bull, Strakosch, Adelina Patti—who sang there on her first tour in this country—and other celebrities of the period. There the learned Guyot had instructed in geology; there unique “Tom Marshall” had uniquely delivered a unique course of lectures on History. Over the rostrum hung the portrait of Doctor Samuel Brown—the first medical professor. This lecture hall was lighted for evening assemblages, from the sides mostly, by “scounches,” as they were called by the “ole Virginny” negro janitor. This factotum, “Absolom Driver,” is forgotten by any whose path some time ran parallel with his. For many years the keeper of the Medical Hall, his zeal and vigilance were unimpeachable, his dignified solemnity on state occasions unsurpassed. Contemptuous of letters—except for doctors—and with unshakable prejudice against “book learnin’ for niggers,” he was faithful in trusts with the matchless fidelity of the dog. “Bad boys”—the problem of philosophers and ordinary folk in all ages—was one of easy solution by “Uncle Absolom” with a bent nail at the end of a long pole. Charged upon with *elan* with this unprecedented weapon, accompanied by an ominous war-cry, no truant could withstand, even

though the artfully strewn broken bottles on the high back fence had been successfully outflanked. "Robbers" had their everlasting antidote at hand in the peculiarly uncanny, long, "one-barreled shotgun" with curious lock, which stood in the corner of the Faculty room. Nobody ever heard it "go off," but the mystery of it was what appalled one. Happily "Uncle Absolom's" death was nearly coeval with the closing of the medical school. To have witnessed the burning of his sacred temple, the Medical Hall, after all his "keer," would have broken his heart indeed.

And now, bidding adieu to the shades of the grand old Transylvania Medical Department, conjured from the past by one now numbered with them, may the earnest wish be permitted with hope of realization, that some other hand with cunning in such craft will unveil to us the portraits of that bygone throng of brilliant men which constituted and which were the exponents of the honored Transylvania Law School.

APPENDIX

Appendix

SCHEDULE A.

SUCCESSION OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSORS IN THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT
OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, FROM 1799 TO 1857, INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Surgery.	Anatomy.	Theory and Practice of Medicine.	Institutes, Physiology, etc.	Obstetrics, etc.	Materia Med- ica, Botany, etc.	Chemistry and Pharmacy.	Demon- strator of Anatomy.
1799	Samuel Brown.	Samuel Brown.	Fred'ck Ridgely.	.....	Frederick Ridgely	.....	Samuel Brown.	.....
1805	.....	.....	James Fishback.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1809	B. W. Dudley .	B. W. Dudley .	James Overton .	J. Buchanan .	.....	.....	.....	.....
1815	"	"	"	.....	W. H. Richardson.	.....	James Blythe .	.....
1817	"	"	"	.....	"	Daniel Drake .	"	.....
1818	"	"	"	.....	"	"	"	.....
1819	"	"	Samuel Brown..	Chas. Caldwell .	"	Chas. Caldwell	"	.....
1820	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1821	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1822	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1823	"	"	"	"	"	Daniel Drake .	†	"
1824	"	"	"	"	"	"	†	"
1825	"	"	Daniel Drake .	"	"	.....	†	"
1826	"	"	"	"	"	C. W. Short .	.....	.....
1827	"	"	J. E. Cooke . . .	"	"	"	.....	.....
1828	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....	.....
1829	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....	.....
1830	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....	.....
1831	"	"	"	"	"	"	†L. P. Yandell .	.....
1832	"	"	"	"	"	"	§	"
1833	"	"	"	"	"	"	§	"
1834	"	"	"	"	"	"	§	"
1835	"	"	"	"	"	"	§	"
1836	"	"	"	"	"	"	§	"
1837	"	"	John Eberle . .	J. C. Cross	"	"	T. D. Mitchell .	.....
1838	* " " "	"	N. R. Smith . .	"	"	T. D. Mitchell .	Robert Peter .	.....
1839	* " " "	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1840	* " " "	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1841	* " " "	"	Elisha Bartlett .	"	"	"	"	.....
1842	* " " "	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1843	* " " "	"	"	L. M. Lawson . .	"	"	"	.....
1844	"	J. M. Bush . . .	L. Watson . . . .	"	"	"	"	.....
1845	"	"	"	"	T. D. Mitchell . . .	"	"	.....
1846	"	"	Elisha Bartlett .	"	Samuel Annan . . .	"	"	.....
1847	"	"	"	E. L. Dudley . .	"	"	"	.....
1848	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	.....
1849	"	"	Samuel Annan..	"	W. M. Boling	H. M. Bullitt .	"	.....
1850	No winter session of the Medical College.							
1851	E. L. Dudley . .	J. M. Bush . . .	Samuel Annan..	H. M. Skillman..	S. M. Letcher	J. R. Allen . . .	Robert Peter .	J. M. Bruce.
1852	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1853	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1854	"	"	W. S. Chipley . .	"	"	"	"	"
1855	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1856	"	"	"	"	"	A. K. Marshall.	"	"
1857	"	"	"	"	"	B. P. Drake . .	"	"

*J. M. Bush, adjunct.

†H. H. Eaton, adjunct.

†R. Best, adjunct.

‡R. Peter, assistant.

SCHEDULE B

OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY
FOR THIRTY-NINE YEARS.

Year.	Pupils.	Graduates.	Year.	Pupils.	Graduates.
1817-18	20	1	Brought up ..	3,820	1,078
1819-20	37	7	1838-39	211	51
1820-21	93	14	1839-40	257	62
1821-22	138	37	1840-41	254	64
1822-23	171	51	1841-42	271	57
1823-24	200	46	1842-43	204	60
1824-25	234	56	1843-44	214	59
1825-26	281	65	1844-45	156	38
1826-27	190	53	1845-46	171	64
1827-28	152	53	1846-47	205	68
1828-29	206	40	1847-48	169	53
1829-30	199	72	1848-49	120	49
1830-31	210	54	1849-50	92	35
1831-32	215	74	1850-*51	50	21
1832-33	222	69	†1851-52	50	23
1833-34	262	66	†1853	51	19
1834-35	259	83	†1854	53	31
1835-36	262	75	†1855	38	29
1836-37	242	78	§1855-56	38	11
1837-38	227	84	§1856-57	32	9
Carried up....	3,820	1,078	Totals	6,456	1,881

*Doctor Dudley resigned at the end of this session.

†Spring and summer session.

‡Summer and winter session.

§Winter session.

Thus the records show that in thirty-nine years of the existence of the Medical Department of Transylvania University it taught six thousand four hundred and fifty-six pupils and conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine on one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one of that number. The late Professor Thomas D. Mitchell, in speaking of its record, made the following remark: "That for its vigorous prosperity and the rapid increase of its classes, the medical school of Transylvania is without a parallel. Certainly in the United States there is nothing comparable to it. This is the highest eulogy the institution can receive. The most eloquent and forcible language in praise of it would be spiritless and feeble contrasted with the power of the foregoing figures."

Appendix

SCHEDULE OF THE SEVERAL ENDOWMENTS OF
TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.

Date of Donation or Grant.	Donors.	Character of Donations or Grants.	Conditions Under Which they were Given.
1780	State of Virginia.....	8,000 acres escheated lands in Kentucky, value unknown	For the purposes of a "Public School" or seminary of learning in Kentucky.
1783	State of Virginia.....	12,000 acres escheated lands in Kentucky, value unknown	For the purposes of a "Public School" or seminary of learning in Kentucky.
1783	Individuals	Books, etc., value not known	For the purposes of a "Public School" or seminary of learning in Kentucky.
1784	Reverend John Todd	Small library and apparatus	"As an encouragement to science."
1787	State of Virginia.....	One sixth surveyors' fees in Kentucky.....	For the public school, etc.
1791	State of Virginia.....	A lottery grant to raise money.....	To establish the school.
1792-3	Transylvania Land Co.....	Lot in Lexington (5 acres)	For the permanent site of the Seminary.
1795-8	State of Kentucky	12,000 acres of land, 6,000 acres to Kentucky Academy and 6,000 acres to the Seminary .....	.....
1794-5	Individuals in various parts and States	\$14,000 in money and books and apparatus.	Promotion of science, learning, and virtue.
1804	State of Kentucky	A lottery grant	To build a Medical College.
1819	State of Kentucky	Bonus of F. & M. Bank, \$3,000.....	To aid the University.
1820	State of Kentucky	\$5,000 in paper	To Medical College for library, etc.
1820	City of Lexington.....	\$6,000 in paper	To Medical College for library, etc.
1820	State of Kentucky	Half profits of Commercial Bank, \$20,000 in paper, 2 per cent on auction sales to law library	To aid the University.
1822	Citizens of Lexington	\$4,832	To aid the Medical Department.
1823	Colonel James Morrison.....	\$20,000 in money	To found a "Morrison" professorship or library.
1823	Colonel James Morrison.....	\$50,000 residuary estate	To erect a "Morrison College."
1823	State of Kentucky	A lottery grant	To build a medical college at Lexington.
1827 to 1829	Citizens and city of Lexington	\$3,000 per annum, the city giving \$500...	To pay salaries of President and professors of the University.
1827 to 1829	Citizens and city of Lexington	Insurance policy for \$10,000 on the burned University edifice .....	.....
1830	W. C. C. Claiborne	\$50	To help build the above.
1839	City of Lexington.....	\$70,000 to build new medical college, enlarge library, etc	On condition to elect Trustees and send free scholarships.
1839	Transylvania Institute	About \$35,000	To endow Morrison College, etc.
1839	Citizens of Lexington	\$3,000	To purchase a lot for the site of the Medical College.
1839 to 1850	Medical professors	Residuary debt on new Medical College in lieu of rent.....	.....
1855-6	State of Kentucky	\$12,000 per annum for two years.....	Support of Normal College in Transylvania University.
1834	His Britannic Majesty	Numerous old legal record books.....	.....

Many other persons, as Honorable Edward Everett, Mr. Swan, of France, etc., have at various times made valuable contributions to the Library.

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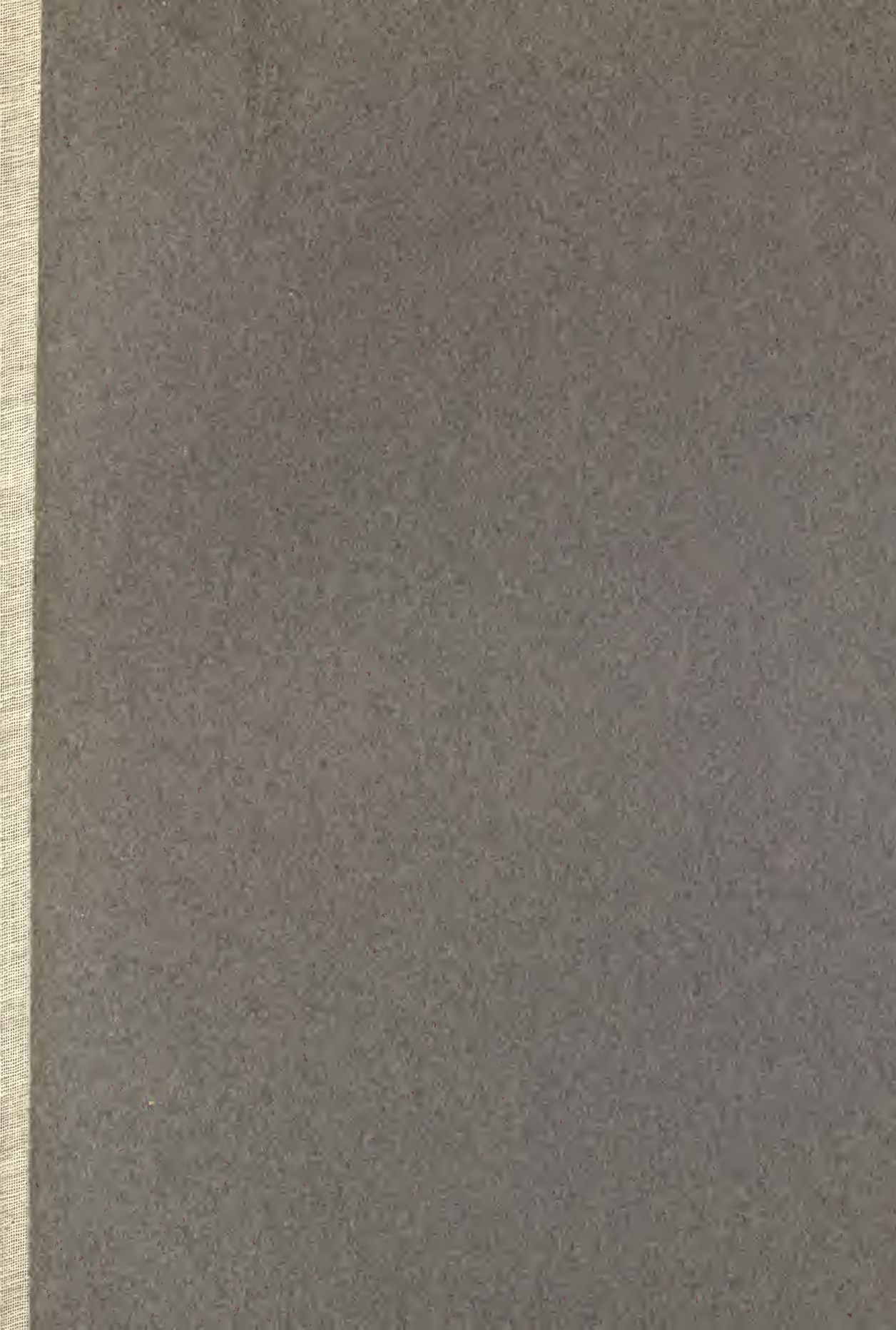
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